PIONEER

A HISTORY OF THE
UTAH WAR

PIONEER

MISSION STATEMENT: The Mission of
the National Society of the Sons of Utah
Pioneers is to come to know our fathers
and turn our hearts to them; we preserve
the memory and heritage of the early
pioneers of the Utah Territory and the
western U.S.; we honor present-day
pioneers worldwide who exemplify the
pioneer qualities of character; and teach
these same qualities to the youth who will
be tomorrow's pioneers.

THE PIONEER VALUES: We honor the
pioneers for their faith in God, devotion to
family, loyalty to church and country, hard
work and service to others, courage in
adversity, personal integrity, and unyield-
ing determination.

For the previous two years it has been an honor for me to participate with the *Pioneer* magazine board. Led by Dr. William W. Tanner, who has held many leadership positions in the Sons of Utah Pioneers, in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and in his profession, the board members work hard to bring SUP members and magazine subscribers an outstanding publication dedicated to the heritage and memory of Utah's pioneers.

This distinguished group of editors and writers were introduced by Dr. Tanner in the organization's August edition of the monthly newsletter, the "Trail Marker." Bill Tanner also presented an excellent history of the *Pioneer* magazine and a summary of recent accomplishments and recognitions to the attendees at the SUP's National Encampment held in Cedar City in September. We left with a greater appreciation of the *Pioneer* magazine, and its importance as a historical resource.

This issue of *Pioneer* is once again a great accomplishment by volunteer writers and editors who sincerely love their mission. This issue examines the events of and some little-known participants in the Utah War of 1857–58. The Utah War is a unique event in US history that is not well understood by most Utah residents and other interested readers. For those who wish to learn more about the tragic and heroic events that took place during this time, you will find additional resources for study in the notes at the end of many of the articles in this issue.

We encourage all SUP members, their families, and all others who have discovered this publication to read and enjoy each issue and share *Pioneer* with others. You can give family members and friends a Christmas or birthday gift subscription that will last throughout the year. And we hope you will tell the stories of the Utah pioneers to your children and grandchildren and pass on our treasured pioneer legacy. ▼

Following the Utah War, Fort Douglas was established in October 1862 on the east bench of Salt Lake City near present-day University of Utah; its express purposes were to protect the overland mail route between the East and the Pacific Coast and keep watch on Brigham Young and members of the Church. Read more of "Utah's Legacy of US Military Installations," in this issue, pages 46–55. FORT DOUGLAS (1871), BY PHILIPPE RÉGIS DENIS DE KEREDERN DE TROBRIAND, COURTESY SPRINGVILLE MUSEUM OF ART.

A brief overview of the Utah War

BY KEITH LAWRENCE

The Utah War—also known by its instigators as the Mormon Rebellion—began in March 1857 when President James Buchanan mobilized US troops against what was said to be a widespread and dangerous uprising in Utah Territory—a rebellion against federal authority and the laws it upheld, a rebellion determined to secure "Mormon" autonomy and supremacy in the region.

Because, from Latter-day Saint perspectives, the Expedition was a selfish, unnecessary abuse of federal resources in the name of cronyism and self-aggrandizement, and because, in simplest terms, the "war" was initiated by a government's deploying an army—unannounced—against its own citizens, the conflict was also known as Buchanan's Blunder.

The truth of the Utah War—or, more accurately, the Utah Expedition or the Utah Campaign—is far afield from either of these polar views of it. In the first place, the Utah War was a non-traditional war—a non-war, even—and there was never an actual engagement between the troops commanded by General Albert Sidney Johnston and the militias of the Utah Territory.

In the second place, the Utah War was a conflict that emerged from suspicion and miscommunication. By 1851 relationships between the Utah Territory's federal appointees—separated by more than half a continent from the officials and seat of government they represented—and the Latter-day Saint leaders of the Territory of Deseret were often strained.

If anything, relations worsened during the early and mid-1850s as the Church publicly acknowledged its practice of polygamy, as average Church members became more resistant to outsider "Gentiles" and their alleged "influences," and as federal employees proved unequal to the challenges

of frontier life, a high-desert climate, and "Mormon" society. Officials in Washington, DC, were kept busy reading and responding to the letters, reports, and accusations from both sides of the divide.

After abandoning their territorial posts, disgruntled federal appointees delivered to their home offices in Washington agitated reports of their experiences. Some of these underscored public perceptions and public distrust of "the Mormons," eventually feeding President James Buchanan's antagonism toward the Saints and what he described as their arrogant leadership. It appears, in fact, that some of the more acrimonious letters persuaded Buchanan that Utahns were in open rebellion against the federal government and the Constitution itself.

Accordingly, during the third week of May 1857, Buchanan determined to replace Brigham Young with a federally appointed territorial governor and simultaneously fill all Utah Territory's then-vacant federal positions with men of his own choosing. To ensure a "smooth and friendly" transfer of power, Buchanan's appointees would be accompanied by a "military escort" of no less than 2,500 soldiers—a literal army—commanded by General Albert S. Johnston. But there was a problem: for reasons still unclear, Buchanan did not inform Young that he was being replaced or that an army was on its way to Salt Lake City.

Over the next several weeks, the facts of Buchanan's decisions were confirmed to Young and other Church leaders. And as facts were revealed, unbearable questions followed. Why had Buchanan taken this action? What, precisely, were Latter-day Saints said to have done? Were the Saints once again an enemy people to be exterminated or driven out? Amidst a fog of rumors, the body of the Church remained convinced that Utah was still "the right place"—and that they must take a stand. Defensive plans were laid by Church leaders: plans for preventing attacks from virtually every direction; plans for hindering the progress of the advancing army and destroying its resources; plans for resisting without firing shots; plans for abandoning and then burning homes and fields in the path of the army, if necessary; plans, even, for escape.

In the end, the war was one of words and wills, not weapons. But in the tense, often fearful and desperate environment this conflict fostered, there were devastating consequences. In particular, there was the Mountain Meadows Massacre of September 1857, which followed on the heels of the imposition of martial law throughout Utah Territory. The fear, resentment, overzealousness, prejudice, or anger of an isolated body of Latter-day Saints fueled a terrible chain of events ending in the murders of at least 120 men, women, and children immigrating from Arkansas to California.

The larger war may have had tragic ends without the intervention of men like Thomas L. Kane, who, according to his wife, was driven by some unknown force or impulse to sacrifice career and even family needs to help a beleaguered people to whom he had no responsibility—except as a loyal Christian friend. From December 1857 through mid-May 1858 Kane's informal and unofficial negotiations with Buchanan, Johnston, Alfred Cumming (the federally appointed governor replacing Brigham Young), and Young and other Church leaders paved the way for understanding, compromise, and resolution—and won Kane the lifelong friendship and gratitude of Latter-day Saints.

The Utah War ended anticlimactically in July 1858 after General Johnston and his troops passed peacefully through temporarily deserted northern Utah settlements, including Salt Lake City, and established a US military base in Cedar Valley, forty miles southwest of Utah's capitol.

Apart from its attendant tragedies, the Utah War was an important first step on Utah's long path to statehood. It gradually enabled a true separation of church and state within Utah Territory and facilitated the growth of an abiding loyalty to nation, Constitution, and government perhaps unequaled by that of any other US state or region. The government's view of Utah also changed—and, over time, Utah and its people would be entrusted with responsibility for some of the nation's most important and sensitive military and security operations.

Any thoughtful study of the Utah War will reveal its hard-won blessings, not just its missteps and failings, and will underscore the courage and integrity of good men and women on both sides of the conflict. This issue of *Pioneer* is a heartfelt contribution to such a study. ▼

CONFLICT, TRAGEDY, AND PEACE

the UTAH WAR

1857-58

Map of the

UNITED STATES

OF

NORTH AMERICA

With parts of the Adjacent Countries.

BY

David H. Burr.

(Late Topographer to the Post Office.)

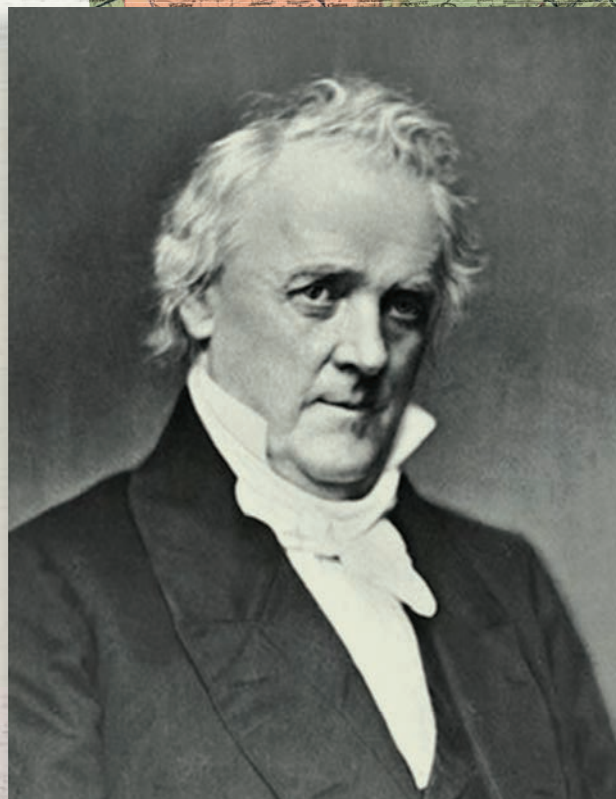Geographer to the House of Representatives of the U.S.

BY THOMAS G. ALEXANDER

On December 8, 1857, President James Buchanan[1] sent his first State of the Union address to Congress. In it, he explained why the previous May he had discharged nearly all the federal appointees in Utah Territory and ordered their replacements, all non-Latter-day Saints, to travel to the beleaguered territory.[2] Buchanan insisted that he had mobilized 2,500 troops to escort the new appointees because Utahns had arisen in "substantial rebellion" against the United States.[3] This article will show what led Buchanan to take these actions and, subsequently, to attempt to justify them in his State of the Union speech.

Buchanan dispatched an army called the Utah Expedition to escort new federal appointees to Utah in what is often called the Utah War. Even though the Utah War didn't escalate into full-scale military combat, it had severe direct and indirect consequences including hunger, illness, suffering and death among US soldiers and thousands of civilian evacuees in Utah; significant losses of military equipment, horses and livestock; the murders of two parties of private traders; an attack on the Latter-day Saint settlement at Fort Limhi in Oregon Territory (now in Idaho); and, most tragically, the massacre of at least 120 Arkansas emigrants at Mountain Meadows, Utah.

A collection of personal and official letters containing serious charges against the people of Utah apparently motivated Pres. Buchanan to use military force against Utahns—chief among them letters from W. M. F. Magraw, a businessman and personal friend of Buchanan;[4] David Burr, Utah Surveyor General; John F. Kinney and William W. Drummond, chief and associate justice of the Utah Territorial Supreme Court;[5] and a number of agents and officials in the federal Office of Indian Affairs.[6]

The alarming charges made in these letters had led to Buchanan's decision to send the army to accompany his new territorial appointees. Chief Justice Kinney had

asserted that an unidentified band of Saints had tried to kill two government officials and that the Latter-day Saints had interfered with public trials.[7] David Burr, the Surveyor General, charged that Saints had attacked his employees. (He did not mention in his letter that his surveyors had conducted fraudulent surveys at considerable expense to the US government and Utah's citizens.)[8]

In October 1856, shortly before Buchanan's election to the presidency, Magraw wrote an angry letter to President Franklin Pierce stating that "hundreds of good [non-Mormon businessmen] . . . for years . . . have suffered repeated wrong and injustice." These citizens, he wrote, have endured in vain, "patiently awaiting the correction of outrage by that government [in] which it is their pride to claim citizenship."[9] He insisted the near future would bring "indiscriminate bloodshed, robbery and rapine" that would reduce Utah Territory to "a howling wilderness," as "good men" are "liable . . . to be stripped of their hard earned means . . . and their [lives] threatened and taken."[10]

Associate Justice Drummond wrote two lengthy missives and a shorter letter. The longer letters were even more vitriolic than Magraw's. Drummond depicted Latter-day Saints as corrupt, unpredictable, determined, and dangerous. He made four general assertions against the Saints, claiming that Brigham Young cultivated a despotic state of affairs in which his adherents were induced to mindlessly follow his every command; that the Saints lived by their own laws, disrespecting both the law of the land and the leadership of the nation; that the Saints actively sought to destroy any government imposed upon them except their own and tried to drive away any person who had different views or values; and that these conditions facilitated treasonous and criminal acts by the Saints and their dictator, Brigham Young.[11]

Both Magraw and Drummond harbored personal antipathies against the Latter-day Saints and their culture, and historians have long questioned their motivations and the reliability of their reports on Utah's politics and culture. In Magraw's case, he left the Midwest for Utah in March 1854 with a federal contract to deliver mail between Independence, Missouri, and Salt Lake City. Although Magraw had virtually no experience with mail supervision or western frontier life, his personal friendship with Buchanan had apparently helped him secure the contract. By early 1856,

however, a growing chorus of complaints about the inefficiency and unreliability of Magraw's service—including persistent rumors of mail-tampering by Magraw's employees—led to a Congressional investigation. The Post Office Department terminated Magraw's contract in late May 1856 and called for bids for a new contractor. Latter-day Saint Hiram S. Kimball, "acting as the agent of a Mormon organization, the B. Y. Express Company, [often called the YX Company] . . . advanced the lowest bid at $23,000" and obtained the contract in October 1856.[12] Magraw's inflammatory letter written that same month seems to have been triggered by the contract award to the Latter-day Saint firm.[13]

Drummond likewise developed resentments against the Latter-day Saints after he arrived in Salt Lake City in early 1854. He alighted from the stagecoach in company of a Washington, DC, prostitute traveling under the working name of Ada Carroll, whom he introduced as his wife.[14] Both Drummond and Carroll were married to others. Drummond had left his wife, Jemima McClenahan Drummond and their children in Oquawka, Illinois. Carroll was married to Charles Fletcher, a Baltimore school teacher who may have acted as her pimp. After Drummond realized that he and Ada were scorned by the people of the territory, he responded by heaping condemnations on the practice of polygamy. Drummond also became dissatisfied with his out-of-the-way assignment to the second judicial district at Fillmore in south-central Utah. In May 1856 he drove a herd of horses to Carson Valley, Utah (now Nevada), where he began to hold court, even though Carson was in the third judicial district and outside his jurisdiction.

Instead of remaining in Carson Valley, however, he next traveled to California. From there he wrote a letter attacking Brigham Young and the Saints which the *New York Herald* published in part on March 20, 1857.[15] Drummond then sailed to Panama, crossed the Isthmus, and traveled by ship to New Orleans. From there on March 30, Drummond sent a letter of resignation to US Attorney General Jeremiah S. Black, again condemning the citizens and leaders of Utah Territory in sweeping and personal terms.[16] While Drummond's letter to the *New York Herald* undoubtedly came to Buchanan's attention during the Spring of 1857 as he made his decision to send troops to Utah, the letter to Black likely was not seen by the president at that time and did not factor in the decision. Nevertheless, the content and structure of the resignation letter to Attorney General Black parallels the "Utah section" of Buchanan's State of the Union address in December 1857 and suggests that the president may have used it to articulate his reasons for sending the army to Utah.[17]

In his address to Congress, Buchanan declared that because Brigham Young served not only as governor and superintendent of Indian Affairs but as "head of the church called the Latter-Day Saints," and because he "professes to govern its members and dispose of their property by direct inspiration and authority from the Almighty," his "power has been therefore, absolute over both church and State." Insisting that the Saints were possessed of a "phrenzied [*sic*] fanaticism" he derided them as a "deluded people" clinging to "deplorable" and "revolting" beliefs. Buchanan claimed that "they obey [Young's] commands as if those were direct revelations from Heaven" and made no room for any other, including the laws of Congress.
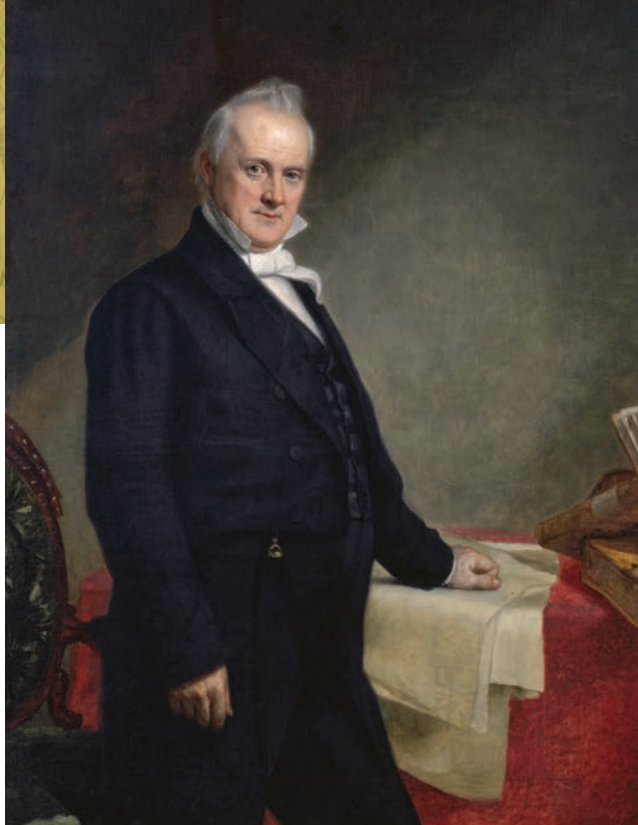
While Drummond's letter insisted that Utahns "constantly insulted, harrassed [*sic*], and annoyed . . . the federal officials of the Territory" without suffering the slightest consequences, and that while both Church leaders and lay members frequently "traduced the American government" and "slandered and abused" the "chief executives of the nation, both living and dead," Buchanan went much further, declaring to Congress that the Saints were nearing "a state of open rebellion," preparing themselves to retreat "to the mountains and bid defiance to all the powers of the Government." While Drummond melodramatically linked disrespectfulness to wanton destructiveness of property, insisting that because the Saints considered "no law of Congress . . . binding in any manner, . . . all records, papers &c. of the supreme court have been destroyed by order of the Church, with the direct knowledge and approbation of Governor B. Young," Buchanan charged the Saints with disrespecting human life itself. Because "Governor Young has by proclamation declared his determination to maintain his power by force, and has already committed acts of hostility against the United States," Buchanan asserted, "all [former] officers of the United States, judicial and executive, with the single exception of two Indian agents, have found it necessary for their own personal safety to withdraw from the Territory, and there no longer remains any government in Utah but the despotism of Brigham Young."

Buchanan's address clearly constituted an exercise in political hypocrisy and cultural myopia. While running for US President in 1856, Buchanan had advocated unfettered religious liberty and strongly endorsed the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), drafted under the theory of popular sovereignty championed by Illinois Senator Stephen Douglas and Secretary of State Lewis Cass. In practice, however, Buchanan apparently believed that these principles did not apply to Latter-day Saints whom he described as a "deluded people" and enemies of the state.[18] Telling Congress that, "to spare the effusion of blood," he had dispatched "an imposing force" of 2,500 men to convince Utahns that "we are their friends, not their enemies," he then brazenly requested the funding of four additional regiments to assist in this "friendship" effort.

Congressional leaders ignored Buchanan's request for additional troops and wondered aloud why Buchanan's contingent of replacement officials required a military escort. Indeed, some began probing the status of the Utah Expedition and its skyrocketing costs at a time the nation could ill afford gratuitous expenses. On January 27, 1858, the House demanded that Buchanan provide documentation of events or occurrences "which gave rise to the military expedition ordered to Utah Territory."[19] In response, Buchanan sought help from his cabinet officers in gathering documents supporting his decision. Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson's Bureau of Indian Affairs and General Land Office provided a letter and papers from David Burr and his employees, and letters from Indian agents and officials about Indian affairs; Attorney General Jeremiah S. Black's Justice Department provided the resignation letter from William Drummond; while Secretary of State Lewis Cass sent only the letter Magraw had written to President Pierce.[20]

Buchanan submitted 215 printed pages of documentation to House investigators on February 8, 1858, including the showpiece letters from Magraw and Drummond.[21] In addition to the generalized claims mentioned above, Drummond specifically charged "the Mormons" with giving "orders, advice, and direction" to Pahvant Utes to murder Commander John Gunnison and his survey party in October 1853. He further charged that "leading men

of the Mormon Church" had ordered that subordinates give "poisoned liquors" to retired Justice Leonidas Shaver (mistakenly called "Leonidas Shaw"). He asserted that the Church's First Presidency had sent "members of the Danite Band" to murder the party of Almon W. Babbitt, Utah Territory's Secretary.[22]

These charges were potentially the most damning because they were the most specific claims found in the documentation. But all were false. Capt. John W. Gunnison had arrived in Utah with a party of about twenty-five men to survey a possible route for a projected transcontinental railroad. The Latter-day Saints had no motive for murdering Gunnison or disrupting his expedition. Four years earlier, Gunnison had spent a year among the Latter-day Saints with Capt. Howard Stansbury surveying the Great Salt Lake Valley. Brigham Young had assigned Albert Carrington to work with him, and the two became good friends. Gunnison published a book titled *The Mormons or the Latter-Day Saints.* Although he opposed Latter-day Saint theo-democracy, the book was generally congratulatory, and the Saints considered him a friend of the Church.[23] Of even greater significance, Latter-day Saint leaders vigorously supported the construction of a transcontinental rail line through Utah and would not have wished to interfere with Gunnison's work. Moreover, William Washington Potter, a faithful Latter-day Saint who acted as the expedition's guide, was one of the eight expedition members killed during the "Gunnison Massacre" on October 26, 1853.

Drummond's accusation involving the death of Capt. Gunnison was reprinted in newspapers across the country. But it was firmly denounced by Lt. Edward G. Beckwith, Gunnison's second in command. In his official report to the War Department, Beckwith declared that any statement "charging the Mormons or Mormon authorities with instigating the Indians to do so if not actually aiding them in the murder of Captain Gunnison and his associates is, I believe, not only entirely false, but there is no accidental circumstance connected with it affording the slightest foundation for such a charge."[24] Moreover, Lt. Col. Edward J. Steptoe—whom President Pierce sent to Utah Territory to investigate the massacre—found no evidence of Mormon complicity.[25]

The charges that Latter-day Saints had murdered or had ordered the murders of former Justice Leonidas Shaver

JANUARY 27, 1858, THE HOUSE DEMANDED THAT PRESIDENT JAMES BUCHANAN PROVIDE DOCUMENTATION OF EVENTS OR OCCURRENCES "WHICH GAVE RISE TO THE MILITARY EXPEDITION ORDERED TO UTAH TERRITORY."
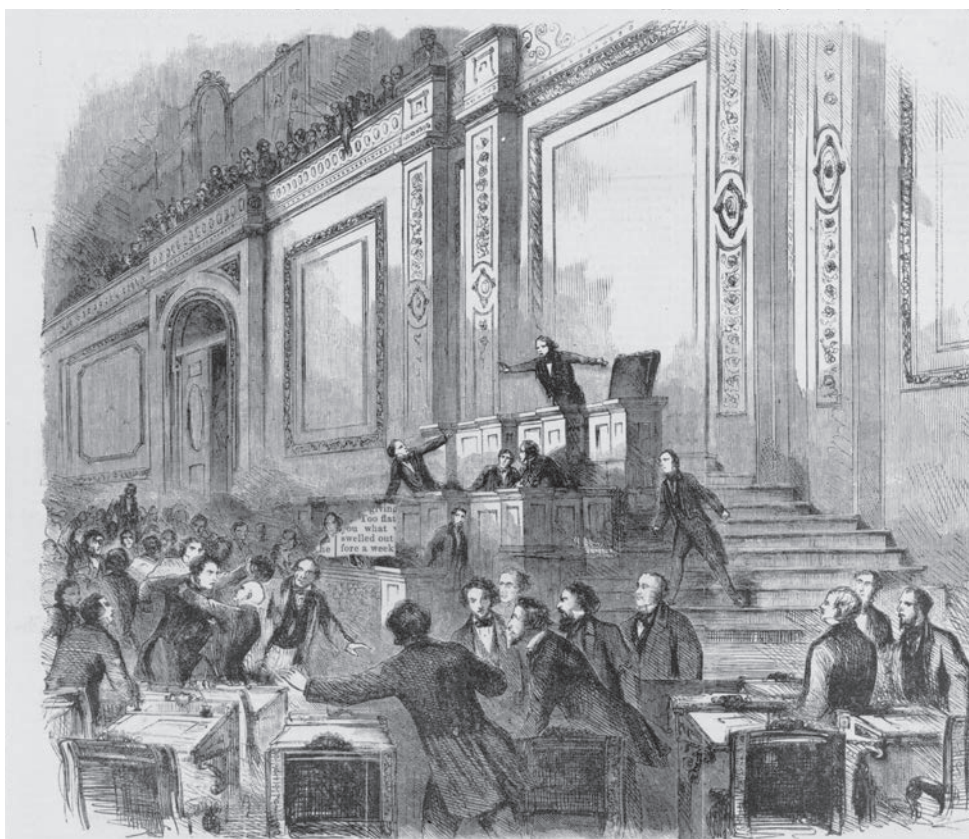
CONGRESSIONAL ROW, IN THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MIDNIGHT OF FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6TH, 1858.

DRUMMOND SPECIFICALLY CHARGED "THE MORMONS" WITH GIVING "ORDERS, ADVICE, AND DIRECTION" TO PAHVANT UTES TO MURDER COMMANDER JOHN GUNNISON AND HIS SURVEY PARTY IN OCTOBER 1853.
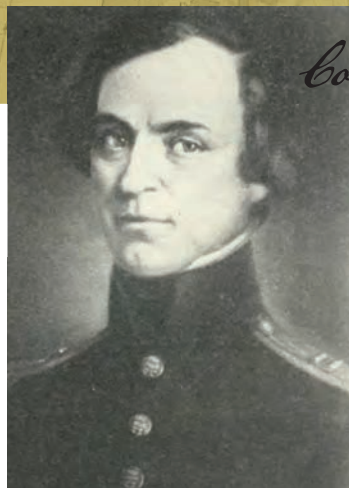
third territorial secretary, but he and Young again disagreed with one another over territorial appointments and disposition of federal funds for Utah. In August 1856, Cheyenne Indians attacked Babbitt's party near Ash Hollow, Nebraska, while he was traveling on government business. They killed him and two others and scattered federal monetary drafts, government appropriations, and other documents across the plains. There is no evidence that Latter-day Saints had anything to do with his death. An investigation by US Army Capt. H. W. Wharton, the commander at Fort Kearney, Nebraska, determined that Cheyenne Indians had committed the murders. Wharton's findings and reports in local and national newspapers were well known before Drummond ever left Utah.[28]

Contrary to the charges by Drummond and Magraw that Brigham Young held absolute control over the citizens of Utah, there are numerous instances where Church members believed their personal interests were at odds with Young's directives. Those dissenting members tended to ignore Young's counsel and often took actions directly opposed to his instructions. For example, Young had tried to reimplement the Law of Consecration and Stewardship in 1854–55. Although he collected many documents deeding property to the Church, he assumed control of none of the property because members pushed back against the program. As another example, Young tried to implement a policy of defense and conciliation during the Walker War of 1853–54. In violation of Young's orders, militia commander Col. Peter Conover initiated violent reprisals for certain actions by the Indians. Young removed him from command and appointed Col. George A. Smith in his place. In still another instance, Brigham directed the Saints to "assemble into large and permanent forts" and to send "all surplus stock" not needed "for teams and milk" to Salt Lake City. Many Latter-day Saints from Cedar City in the south to Ogden in the north ignored the order, insisting that their livestock was private property, not subject to Brigham's dictates.[29]

and Secretary Almon Babbitt are perhaps the easiest of Drummond's lies to refute. President Pierce had appointed Shaver as a justice in Utah in 1852. In contrast with many of the federal justices, Shaver's kindness and civility quickly earned the respect of the Saints. Shaver settled in Salt Lake City after his judicial term. At the public inquest into Shaver's death, Dr. Garland Hurt, the Indian agent who "later became an outspoken opponent of Brigham Young," and Dr. William France testified that Shaver had died of natural causes, likely of a serious inner-ear infection.[26] No reliable evidence has surfaced that anyone poisoned him.

A graduate of Ohio State University and a lawyer, Almon W. Babbitt had served in Zion's Camp and as Kirtland stake president and had emigrated to Utah in 1848. He had differences with both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young over the years on various matters. He had been disfellowshipped four times and was excommunicated in 1854.[27] In 1853 President Pierce appointed Babbitt as Utah's

Drummond's assertion that "Mormons" had destroyed federal court records and imprisoned people illegally was also a fabrication. The deputy clerk of the territory's Supreme Court, Curtis E. Bolton, showed the records to Governor Alfred Cumming after his arrival in Utah and sent a letter to Attorney General Jeremiah Black—which Buchanan later published—affirming that all court records were "safely in my custody." Bolton's letter also provided evidence refuting Drummond's charges of illegal imprisonments by Young or other Church authorities.[30]

It is true, as Drummond and several Indian agents such as Garland Hurt reported, that Latter-day Saints proselytized among American Indians and that they encouraged Native Americans to prefer the Saints to other white Americans. Despite building settlements on Ute, Shoshone, Goshute, and Paiute lands and frequently fighting battles with these peoples, the Latter-day Saints continued to view Native Americans as children of Israel and fellow-citizens of God's kingdom.[31] Brigham deplored the indiscriminate killing of Indians. At least from 1852 to 1865 Young consistently directed the Saints to be patient, generous neighbors and to live in peace with all Indians. Given the doctrines of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints about the Indians' origins, and Brigham Young's own counsel, it is not surprising that the body of Saints sought for and expected to cement alliances with the tribes of the Utah Territory, even though they failed on many occasions.

The claims of Drummond, Magraw, Burr, and Kinney that Latter-day Saints sponsored a culture of violence in nineteenth-century Utah have been echoed in recent years by such historians as Michael Quinn.[32] But historical literature often emphasizes incidents of unusual or sensationalized violence and distorts actualities. Unfortunately, we have neither a study that compares violence in Utah with that in other western territories, nor statistical data analyzing violence in the west or in Utah from 1850 to 1880. Nevertheless, Scott Thomas has persuasively shown that most violence in the Utah Territory was general criminal activity—and that the comparatively rare instances of violence linked to religious fanaticism are more appropriately categorized as frontier vigilantism.[33]

For the period after 1880, statistical data shows that Utah Territory was considerably less violent than nearby territories or states, and Utah experienced no episodes of vigilante lawlessness like those that occurred in California, Wyoming, and Montana.[34] While Joseph Smith created or sanctioned a group of personal bodyguards known as "Danites" early in the Church's history, Leonard Arrington's research shows that there is no sound evidence of the band's continued existence after the Saints' arrival in the Salt Lake Valley.[35] When the term appears in already-inflammatory depictions of violence in Utah, it is often employed to further sensationalize the narrative rather than to reflect carefully researched fact.[36] A comparative study of the relative violence in Utah and that occurring in other territories and states in the West would go a long way to answering the question of whether Latter-day Saints in Utah really exhibited a culture of violence. I believe that such a study would show that Utah was considerably less violent than other western territories.[37]

Accused of violence, however, Young anticipated that violence would be employed against the Latter-day Saints.
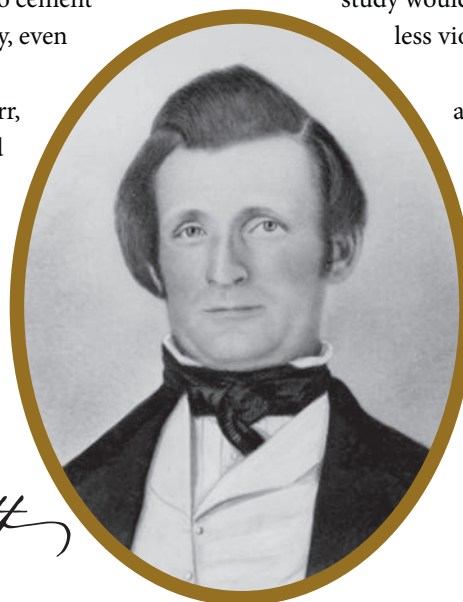
Almon W. Babbitt

THE COMMANDER OF FORT KEARNEY, CAPTAIN H. W. WHARTON, DETERMINED THAT CHEYENNE INDIANS HAD MURDERED ALMON W. BABBITT AND HIS PARTY.

BRIGHAM YOUNG CONSISTENTLY DIRECTED THE SAINTS TO BE PATIENT, GENEROUS NEIGHBORS AND TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH ALL NATIVE AMERICAN PEOPLES.

And as early as May 29, 1857, Young heard from George A. Smith that Buchanan was preparing to dispatch an army of 2,000 to 3,000 troops "to the Territory."[38] Smith and John Taylor, who had gone to Washington, DC, to try to secure the admission of Utah into the Union, witnessed the army's preparations as they passed through Fort Leavenworth on their way home to Salt Lake City. Throughout that summer, Brigham Young met with civic and Church leaders to plan a response to the approaching army.[39] On July 12, after meeting with businessman Feramorz Little, Young wrote that he wished "to avoid hostilities with the United States," but would "draw my sword in the name of Isreal [*sic*] God" before he would "see this people Suffer as they have done heretofore."[40]

In a dramatic confirmation of previous intelligence, Abraham O. Smoot, Judson Stoddard, Porter Rockwell, William Garr, and Elias Smith rode into Young's July 24th celebration in Big Cottonwood Canyon. They reported that the administration had canceled Utah's mail contract and ordered troops to Utah. The couriers said that throughout the United States a "feeling of Mobocracy is rife," and "the constant cry is 'kill the Mormons.'" Defiantly, Young responded "Let them try it."[41]

In planning for Utah's defense, Brigham and his associates believed they could hold the army at bay, but worried that their tactics could lead to a military siege. To prepare for such a siege, Brigham stopped discouraging local tribes from raiding emigrant wagon trains as he had previously done. Rather, he sent interpreter Dimick Huntington to encourage tribal leaders to steal cattle and grain from wagon companies on nearby overland routes. Young began making arrangements to store the stolen grain and livestock that would sustain both whites and American Indians during the siege.

After hearing of these plans, and understanding the importance of maintaining Indian neutrality or securing them as allies, Indian missionary Jacob Hamblin assembled twelve chiefs from the Paiutes and Pahvant Utes and traveled to Salt Lake to meet personally with Young on September 1.[42] Some tribal leaders were confused by Young's reversal of policy, even after he justified his directive as a means of survival.[43] Most of the Indian leaders refused to ally themselves with the Saints.

On September 8, 1857, US Army Quartermaster Capt. Stewart Van Vliet arrived in Salt Lake City and requested a meeting with Governor Young. He remained until September 15. Confirming that the army was rapidly approaching, Van Vliet told Brigham that he was there to arrange the purchase of supplies for Johnston's troops. Brigham liked the young officer but informed him that the Saints were willing to furnish nothing but lumber. The conversation ended with Brigham's reemphasizing his disdain for Buchanan and for the approaching army.[44]

Young and militia commander Lt. Gen. Daniel H. Wells had already begun mobilizing the Saints. In early August, Young had sent George A. Smith to the settlements south of Salt Lake County to rouse the Saints to arms. Warning the people in each town of the approach of

a hostile army, Smith reminded them of abuses endured by the Church in the past, of the hatred of many Americans for the "the Mormons," of the necessity of refusing to sell supplies to non-Latter-day Saints passing through their settlements, and of the urgency to ready their weapons. He warned that an attack might come from southern California as well as from the north. As Johnston's forces drew closer, Young and Wells also sent troops under Lot Smith and several other militia commanders to burn the army's wagon trains in order to deny sustenance to the troops and slow their movements.[45] When Smith's troops prepared to burn one set of wagons, the commander, Mr. Dawson, pled "For God's sake, don't burn the trains!" Smith confidently replied, "It is for his sake that I am going to burn them."[46]

These events accompanied the most tragic and abominable event of the Utah War—the Mountain Meadows Massacre of September 7–11, 1857, during which a large body of Latter-day Saint militiamen and a few Paiute allies killed 120 or more men, women, and children of the Baker-Fancher wagon train, bound from Arkansas to California. Such historians as William Wise, Sally Denton, and Will Bagley have argued that Brigham Young ordered the mas-

sacre. Other historians, including Juanita Brooks, Ronald Walker, Richard Turley, and Glen Leonard, together with Young's four scholarly biographers—Leonard Arrington, Newell Bringhurst, Stanley Hirshson, and John Turner (one Latter-day Saint, one cultural Mormon, and two non-LDS)—have argued that Young did not.[47]

William MacKinnon believes with Michael Quinn and Juanita Brooks that, because of an environment of defensiveness, anxiety, and fear created throughout the territory in 1856–57, territorial leadership bears some responsibility for the massacre. In contrast, Ronald Walker argues that Young was a pacifist. Leonard Arrington believes that Young and others used fiery language as a rhetorical device, not as directive. MacKinnon, the preeminent authority on the Utah War, believes that Young deserves a "Scotch verdict" on the charge of ordering the massacre.[48] After examining the evidence, McKinnon concludes that the case against Young has not been proved. My own judgment is that a reasonable interpretation of the evidence leads to the conclusion that Young did not order the massacre and that leaders of the Iron County Militia were responsible.[49]

"THE FIRST STATEWIDE PIONEER DAY CELEBRATION was held in this basin July 23–24, 1857. Headed by Brigham Young, the company reaching here July 23d numbered 2,587 persons . . . At noon July 24, Judson Stoddard and A. O. Smoot, 20 days from the states, with Elias Smith and O. P. Rockwell, arrived with news of the advance of Johnston's army against the 'Mormons.'" Historical marker located outside the Silver Lake Information Center in Brighton, Utah.

Capt. Stewart Van Vliet

It is known that several Church leaders in Cedar City, led by Laban Morrill of Johnson's Fort, convinced Stake President Isaac Haight to send an urgent letter to Brigham Young to ask if the Arkanasas emigrants should be "chastized." The hard-riding messenger, James Haslam, arrived in Salt Lake City while Young was meeting with Capt. Van Vliet. After reading Haight's letter, Young wrote in reply, "In regard to the migration trains passing through our settlements, we must not interfere with them, until they are first notified to keep away. You must not meddle with them. The Indians we expect will do as they please, but you should try and preserve good feelings with them."[50] Haslam immediately returned to Cedar City, but arrived September 13, two days after the bloody massacre had occurred.

THE MOST TRAGIC EVENT OF THE UTAH WAR WAS THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE OF SEPTEMBER 7–11, 1857.

Church leaders had sought means to checkmate the US government's threats against them even before the army's dispatch. Brigham Young and other authorities corresponded with Thomas L. Kane, a prominent Pennsylvania political figure who knew Buchanan and who had assisted the Latter-day Saints in the past. In March and April 1856, after learning that Buchanan might send an army to Utah, Kane wrote letters to Buchanan on behalf of the Latter-day Saints, urging the President not to dispatch the army. Buchanan claimed he did not receive the letters.

During the early months of 1857 it became very difficult for Kane to carry out initiatives on behalf of the Latter-day Saints because he struggled with both family tragedy and personal challenges. His older brother, the famous Arctic explorer, Elisha Kent Kane, had died in February in Havana, and Thomas mourned as the family returned Elisha's body by railroad from New Orleans for burial in Philadelphia. Adding to his family's anguish, Kane's father-in-law experienced both emotional and financial collapse, and Kane himself suffered from a prolonged illness. These setbacks led him to retire into seclusion for several months.[51] He did not meet personally with Pres. Buchanan until November 1857. After a lengthy discussion, as historian Matthew Grow has noted, Buchanan offered Kane an official appointment, which Kane declined. In December 1857 Buchanan praised Kane's "philanthropy," but noted that if Kane traveled to Utah, it would be without official sanction.[52]

After meeting with Buchanan, Kane traveled to Utah at his own expense to attempt to mediate the tense and dangerous state of affairs. Because of threats to his personal safety, Kane traveled pseudonymously as botanist Dr. Anthony Osborne. He sailed to

central America, crossed the Isthmus of Panama, and sailed to southern California. For portions of the overland route from southern California to Salt Lake City, he traveled with assistance from several Latter-day Saint women and from Amasa Lyman of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.[53]

Reaching Salt Lake City on February 25, 1858, Kane met with Brigham Young and other Church leaders. After first resisting, Young then accepted Kane's offer to "go to the army" and negotiate. Young concluded that Kane traveled under the Spirit's influence, and that "all would be right." On March 8, 1858, Kane left Salt Lake City—escorted by Latter-day Saint scouts—with the object of meeting with Governor Cumming at the army's winter quarters at Camp Scott near burned out Fort Bridger.[54]

As Kane was leaving the Valley, Young received disturbing news that Bannock and Shoshone raiders had attacked a pioneer settlement at Fort Limhi, an outpost in the Salmon River country of Oregon Territory (now in Idaho). The Indians may have been urged on by a federal contractor, Benjamin F. Ficklin. They killed at least two settlers, injured others, and stole horses and livestock. Grieved at heart, Brigham instructed the settlers to abandon the fort and return to Utah.[55]

In the meantime, Kane arrived at Camp Scott, met first with a dubious Col. Johnston, and then with a more pliable Cumming. In spite of Johnston's opposition, Kane induced Cumming to accompany him to Salt Lake City to meet with Young. The two left Camp Scott on April 5, 1858, escorted by Latter-day Saint militiamen, and they arrived in Salt Lake City on April 12.[56]

Recognizing the importance of the opportunity, Brigham Young and other Church leaders greeted Cumming as Utah's governor. Kane told Young confidentially that "he had caught the fish, now you can cook it as you have a mind to." To cement promises to Young and to nurture bonds between the Saints and their new governor, Kane drafted important letters to Secretary of State Lewis Cass and House Speaker James L. Orr which Cumming signed. These missives confirmed as lies most of the prominent charges that federal officials had lodged against Young and the Latter-day Saints.[57]

In a speech delivered at the Old Tabernacle in Salt Lake City, Cumming pledged his service and well-wishes to Utah residents and promised his assistance to any residents who wished to leave the territory. Young also promised dissatisfied residents that Church leaders would "help you away." During 1858 and 1859, about 230 residents would leave the territory. Kane and Cumming remained in the Salt Lake Valley until May 13, when they left to return to Camp Scott.[58]

In view of the army's imminent advance on Utah's central settlements, Young had considered escape to the north —perhaps to Fort Limhi or to Montana—or alternatively to the southwest to the White Mountains of western Utah (now Nevada). Abandoning these alternatives, he decided to instruct northern Utah Saints to move south to Provo and beyond. On May 21, less than two weeks after Kane and Cumming left Salt Lake City to return to Camp Scott, Young initiated what would be known as the Move South. While most Saints moved to Utah County, some traveled as far south as Fillmore, where they printed the *Deseret News* for a time. Small groups remained in Salt Lake City and other northern communities to set homes and fields afire should confrontations with the soldiers ensue.[59]

After Kane and Cumming left the valley, and as the Move South continued, an intervention took place on June

Thomas L. Kane

—AN AMERICAN ATTORNEY, ABOLITIONIST, AND MILITARY OFFICER WHO KNEW JAMES BUCHANAN BUT WAS ALSO A FRIEND OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS.
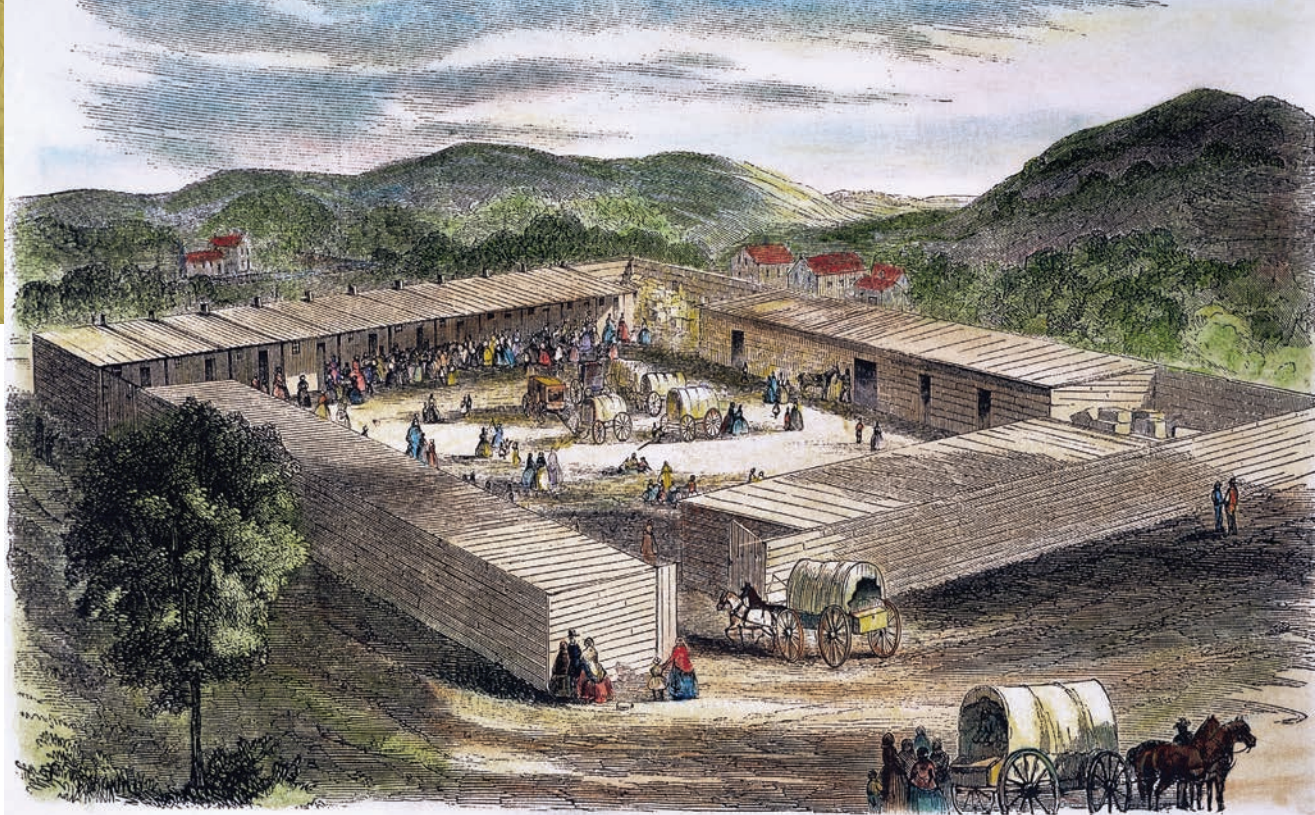
MARCH 21, 1858: BRIGHAM YOUNG INITIATED WHAT WOULD BE KNOWN AS THE MOVE SOUTH—ALL SAINTS IN UTAH'S NORTHERN COUNTIES WOULD MOVE SOUTH TO UTAH COUNTY.

7 that built upon the mediation of Kane and Cumming and brought the Utah War to an end before it ignited into direct conflict. Two commissioners appointed by Pres. Buchanan arrived in Salt Lake City. These were Lazarus W. Powell, Senator-elect and former governor of Kentucky, and Maj. Ben McCulloch, a former Texas Ranger and US Marshal, to whom Buchanan had previously offered Utah's governorship.

On June 11 Powell and McCulloch convened a meeting with Young and other leaders that turned into an often-acrimonious two-day conference. Shortly after the meeting opened, Latter-day Saint leaders were presented with an amnesty proclamation from Buchanan that the commissioners insisted was a take-it-or-leave-it offer. Young was shocked to discover that it was headed by a list of so-called "Mormon" crimes, many originating in the false charges that had plagued the Saints for so long. Indeed, in the estimation of the Latter-day Saint leaders the list included only two truthful allegations: "The Mormons . . . have organized an armed force," and "A train of baggage wagons . . . was attacked and destroyed by a portion of the Mormon forces." George A. Smith would later observe that the document contained at least forty-two lies.[60]

Nevertheless, on condition of pledged fidelity to the US Government, the document also offered to Latter-day Saints unconditional pardons for all war-related offenses, including treason. Buchanan instructed the commissioners that Utah leaders, acting for themselves and on behalf of Utah's residents, must either accept or reject the document because the commissioners had no authority to negotiate terms or language. In the waning afternoon of June 12 Young accepted the terms of the document with this comment: "If a man comes from the moon and says he will pardon me for kicking him to the moon yesterday, I don't care about it; I'll accept of his pardon."[61]

Just over two weeks later, on June 26, the army marched through a nearly deserted Salt Lake City. After camping west of the Jordan River, the troops moved on to Cedar Valley, where they established Camp Floyd, named after Secretary of War John Floyd. At the time, this was the largest military installation in the United States.[62]

Over the next several weeks, Saints from the northern settlements returned to their homes and lands, and the "Utah War" was effectually over. ▾

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"If a man comes from the moon and says he will pardon me for kicking him to the moon yesterday, I don't care about it; I'll accept of his pardon."

— BRIGHAM YOUNG ACCEPTING BUCHANAN'S ANMESTY PROCLAMATION

1 James Buchanan was the fifteenth President of the United States, in office from March 4, 1857, to March 4,1861. He defeated the incumbent, Franklin Pierce, for the nomination at the 1856 Democratic National Convention and then defeated Republican John C. Fremont in the national election.

2 The first part of this essay is based on Thomas G. Alexander, "Carpetbaggers, Reprobates, and Liars: Federal Judges and the Utah War (1857–58)," *The Historian* 70 (Summer 2008): 209–38. Buchanan's address is found in House Executive Document 1, 35th Cong., 1st Sess. (8 Dec 1857), Serial 942.

3 In October 1858 there were 2,791 soldiers stationed at Camp Floyd, the greatest number of troops ever stationed at the post. See Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington, "Camp in the Sagebrush: Camp Floyd, Utah, 1858–1861," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34 (Winter 1966): 19.

4 William P. MacKinnon, "The Buchanan Spoils System and the Utah Expedition: Careers of W. M. F. Magraw and John M. Hockaday," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31.2 (1963): 127–50.

5 Burr, Kinney, and Drummond were appointees of US President Franklin Pierce who served 1853–57.

6 *House Executive Document* (hereafter HED) 71, 35th Congress, 1st Session (1858), Serial 956, 114–215.

7 David Burr to Jeremiah Black, March 20, 1857, and John F. Kinney to Black, n.d., but probably in 1858, National Archives Microfilm, M680, Reel 1.

8 James M. Edmunds, "Territory of Utah," *1861 Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office to the Secretary of the Interior,* see *Central Pacific Railroad Photographic History Museum* webpage, online. This report states that the "late surveyor" of Utah Territory, identified as "David H. Burr, against which sworn allegations of fraud had been preferred," together with "Charles Mogo, deputy surveyor," did not appropriately ensure that their employees followed "laws governing the surveys"—and affirms "great delinquency" in the accuracy of surveys performed, together with "great remissness" in overseeing the work of deputy surveyors.

9 Reprinted in MacKinnon, "Buchanan Spoils," 131.

10 Ibid.

11 See William W. Drummond to Jeremiah S. Black, 30 Mar 1857, HED (1858), Serial 956, 212–4; see also Donald R. Moorman, Donald R. and Gene A. Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (1992),12–6.

12 MacKinnon, "Buchanan Spoils," 134.

13 Ibid.; Moorman and Sessions, 10.

14 Jemima Drummond to "Brother and Sister [Mr. and Mrs. Silas] Richards," 4 Sep 1856, *Deseret News,* 20 May 1857; Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1889* (2009), entry for 17 May 1856, 2: 596; Ronald W. Walker, "'Proud as a Peacock and Ignorant as a Jackass': William W. Drummond's Unusual Career with the Mormons," *Journal of Mormon History* 42 (July 2016): 3, 7.

15 Walker, "Proud as a Peacock," 27.

16 See Drummond to Black, 20 May 1857; see also Drummond's cover letter, Drummond to Black, 2 April 1857, HED (1858) Serial 956, 212. It was actually an earlier letter that apparently moved Buchanan to send the Utah Expedition, a letter Drummond wrote while in California, but that letter has been lost. Nevertheless, newspaper reports of the California letter and the letter Drummond sent to Black from New Orleans help establish the claims of the earlier letter. See Moorman and Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons,* 12–6.

17 Historian William MacKinnon attributes an additional pseudonymous letter attacking the Mormons and Thomas L. Kane to Drummond's authorship. See William P. MacKinnon, ed, *At Sword's Point, Part I: A Documentary History of the Utah War to 1858* (2008), 120.

18 Historians estimate that more than 200 men were killed in Kansas during the bleeding 1850s. For the 1850 Democratic platform see John Woolley and Gerhard Peters, *The American Presidency Project,* hosted by UC Santa Barbara, online.

19 HED 71 (1858), Serial 956.

20 MacKinnon, "Buchanan Spoils," 130.

THE UTAH EXPEDITION.—[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

COLONEL JOHNSTON, COMMANDING UTAH EXPEDITION.

Albert Sidney Johnston

21 Ibid.

22 See Drummond to Black.

23 Emerging from Gunnison's year among the Saints was his book, *The Mormons, or, Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of The Great Salt Lake* (1852). Some historians supportive of Drummond have pointed to this text as a hated target of Utah Territory leaders and Saints—but they seem not to have read Gunnison's text carefully. Neither an expose nor a defense, the text, as a rule, respectfully examines Latter-day Saint culture and doctrine. While it portrays the Saints as unique and even unusual, it generally withholds judgment, even regarding the Saints' practice of polygamy. Perhaps the severest judgment is reserved for the Saints' youth, whose serious religiosity Gunnison questions, and whom he pronounces the "most lawless and profane" of any he has ever encountered (160; see 159–62). But the text hardly would have stirred widespread anger or resentment among Church leaders or members.

24 Robert Kent Fielding, *The Unsolicited Chronicler: An Account of the Gunnison Massacre, Its Causes and Consequences, Utah Territory, 1847–1859* (1993), 207.

25 Fielding, 255–6.

26 Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850–1859* (1960), 38. See also Alexander, "Carpetbaggers, Reprobates, and Liars: Federal Judges and the Utah War," *The Historian,* 70 (Summer 2008), 224, n. 52; *Deseret News,* 4 Jul 1855.

27 Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, *A Book of Mormons* (1982), 8, 9.

28 Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell, Son of God, Man of Thunder* (1966), 236–39; B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church,* 4: 212–4; and HED 364, 36th Cong., 1st Sess. (1860), Serial 1069.

29 Howard A. Christy, "The Walker War, Defense and Conciliation as Strategy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Fall 1979): 404–6.

30 Curtis E. Bolton to Jeremiah S. Black, 26 Jun 1857, HED 71 (1858), Serial 956, 214–5.

31 Armand L. Mauss, *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (2003), 41–73.

32 D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (1994), 79–103 (here, Quinn argues that the Mormons were pacifists until they were violently attacked by their neighbors in Missouri). In *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (1997), 241–61, Quinn argues that Mormons in frontier Utah initiated violence against their enemies, internal and external. See also Robert N. Baskin, Reminiscences of Early Utah (1914); William Adams Hickman and J. H. Beadle, eds. *Brigham's Destroying Angel* (1872).

33 Scott K. Thomas, "Violence across the Land: Vigilantism and Extralegal Justice in the Utah Territory," MA thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, 2010.

34 Margaret Werner Cahalan and Lee Anne Parsons, *Historical Corrections: Statistics in the United States, 1850–1984* (1986), 16, 30; Walter White, *Rope and Faggot, A Biography of Judge Lynch* (1929), 254–9; Richard Maxwell Brown, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (1975).

35 While serving as Church Historian, Leonard Arrington examined the alleged existence of a band of "Destroying Angels" or "Danites." Arrington found that although a band of Danites had existed in Missouri, no such organization existed in Utah; nevertheless, Brigham Young did have a group of Minutemen who responded to dangerous situations. See Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (1985), 5, 65, 250, 251, 253–5, 260. Also see Alexander L. Baugh, *A Call to Arms: The 1838 Mormon Defense of Northern Missouri* (2000), 36–43; Richard Maxwell Brown, ed. *American Violence* (1970), especially 33–55; and Michael Feldberg, *The Turbulent Era: Riot & Disorder in Jacksonian America* (1980), especially 33–129.

36 Chad Orton, "John D. Lee, W. W. Bishop, and *Mormonism Unveiled*," paper, Utah Valley Historical Society, 9 Feb 2016. See, for example, the usage of "Danite" in J. H. Beadle, ed. *Brigham's Destroying Angel: The Life, Confessions, and Startling Disclosures of the Notorious Bill Hickman, The Danite Chief of Utah* (1872), 83, 87, 92, 97; or in John D. Lee and W. W. Bishop, eds. *Mormonism Unveiled; or, The Life and Confessions of John D. Lee* (2001), 232, 276–93.

37 Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis* (1969), 314.

38 Brigham Young, *Diary of Brigham Young, 1857,* ed. Everett L. Cooley (1980), 50–51.

39 Young, *Diary,* Cooley ed., 17, 18, 21, 24, 26, 28–29, 38, 62 entries for 9, 10, 14, 19, 21, and 23 Jun; 6 Jul; and 20 Aug 1857).

40 Young, *Diary,* Cooley, ed., 42, 12 Jul 1857.

41 Young, *Diary,* Cooley, ed., 48–49, 24 Jul 1857.

42 William P. MacKinnon, "'Lonely Bones': Leadership and Utah War Violence." *Journal of Mormon History* 33 (Spring 2007): 121–78;

see also William P. MacKinnon, ed. *At Sword's Point, Part 1.*

43 Huntington journal, 1 Sep 1858, CHL.

44 Woodruff, *Journal,* ed. Kenney, entries for 9 and 12 Sep 1857, 5: 91, 92–3.

45 MacKinnon, ed. *At Sword's Point, Part 1,* 355–6.

46 B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century 1,* 6 vols. (1930), 4:282.

47 William Wise, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (1976); Sally Denton, *American Massacre* (2003); Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets* (2002); Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1962); Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (2008); Richard E. Turley Jr. and Barbara Jones Brown, *After the Massacre* (forthcoming, 2019); Stanley P. Hirshson, *Lion of the Lord* (1969); Newell G. Bringhurst, *Brigham Young and the Expanding American Frontier* (1994); Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (1985); John G. Turner, *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* (2012).

48 Scottish criminal law allows a verdict of not proven, in addition to verdicts of guilty or not guilty.

49 MacKinnon, "'Lonely Bones'"; MacKinnon, ed., *At Sword's Point, Part 2;* D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (1997); Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre;* Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows;* Arrington, *Brigham Young;* Thomas G. Alexander, *Brigham Young, the Quorum of the Twelve, and the Latter-day Saint Investigation of the Mountain Meadows Massacre* (2007); Thomas G. Alexander, *Brigham Young and the Expansion of the Mormon Faith* (forthcoming 2019).

50 MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 1,* 327.

51 MacKinnon, ed., *At Sword's Point, Part 2,* 112.

52 Matthew J. Grow, "Liberty to the Down-trodden": *Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer* (2009).

53 MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 2,* 203–9; Edward Leo Lyman, *Amasa Mason Lyman: Mormon Apostle and Apostate—A Study in Dedication* (2009).

54 MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 2,* 211 ff.

55 This the Fort Limhi settlers did, but by the time they reached Cache County, they discovered a string of abandoned communities stretching all the way to the Point of the Mountain in southern Salt Lake County. The "Move South" had already occurred, but Fort Limhi settlers were eventually reunited with extended families. See William G. Hartley, "Dangerous Outpost: Thomas Corless and the Fort Limhi/Salmon River Mission," *Mormon Historical Studies,* 2.2: 152–8.

56 See Charles S. Peterson, "A Historical Analysis of Territorial Government in Utah under Alfred Cumming, 1857–1861," MA thesis, Brigham Young University (1958); Matthew J. Grow and Ronald W. Walker, *The Prophet and the Reformer: The Letters of Brigham Young and Thomas L. Kane* (2015); Matthew J. Grow, "Liberty to the Downtrodden": *Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer* (2009); MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 2,* 364–5.

57 MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 2,* 436–7, 450–5.

58 MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 2,* 423–32; 441.

59 See Richard D. Poll, "The Move South," *BYU Studies,* 29.4 (Oct 1989): 65–88.

60 LeRoy R. Hafen, and Ann W. Hafen, *Mormon Resistance: A Documentary Account of the Utah Expedition, 1857–1858* (1958); MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 2,* ch. 16.

61 Michael S. Durham, *Desert Between the Mountains* (1997), 220; MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 2,* 534.

62 Moorman and Sessions, *Camp Floyd,* introduction.
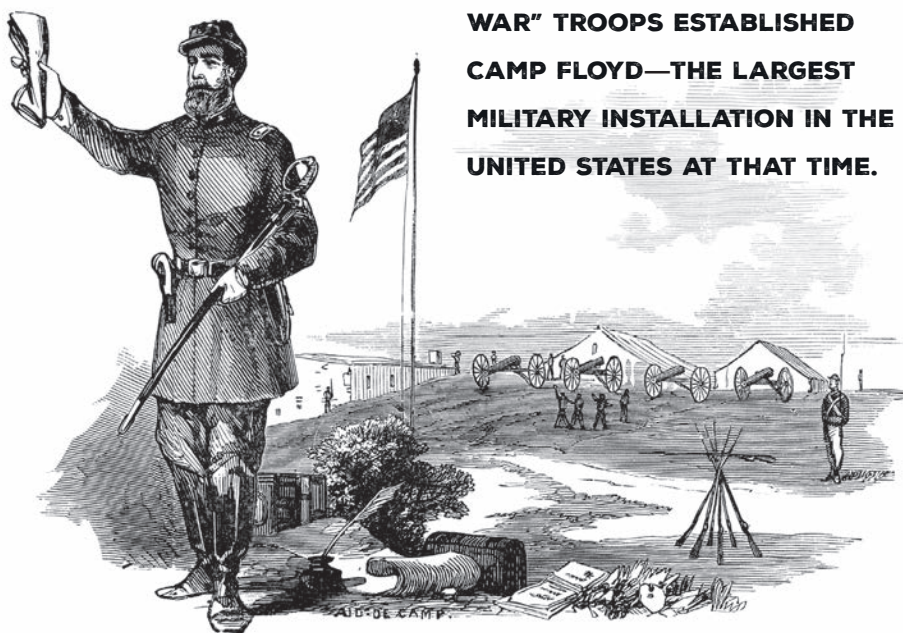
AT THE END OF THE "UTAH WAR" TROOPS ESTABLISHED CAMP FLOYD—THE LARGEST MILITARY INSTALLATION IN THE UNITED STATES AT THAT TIME.
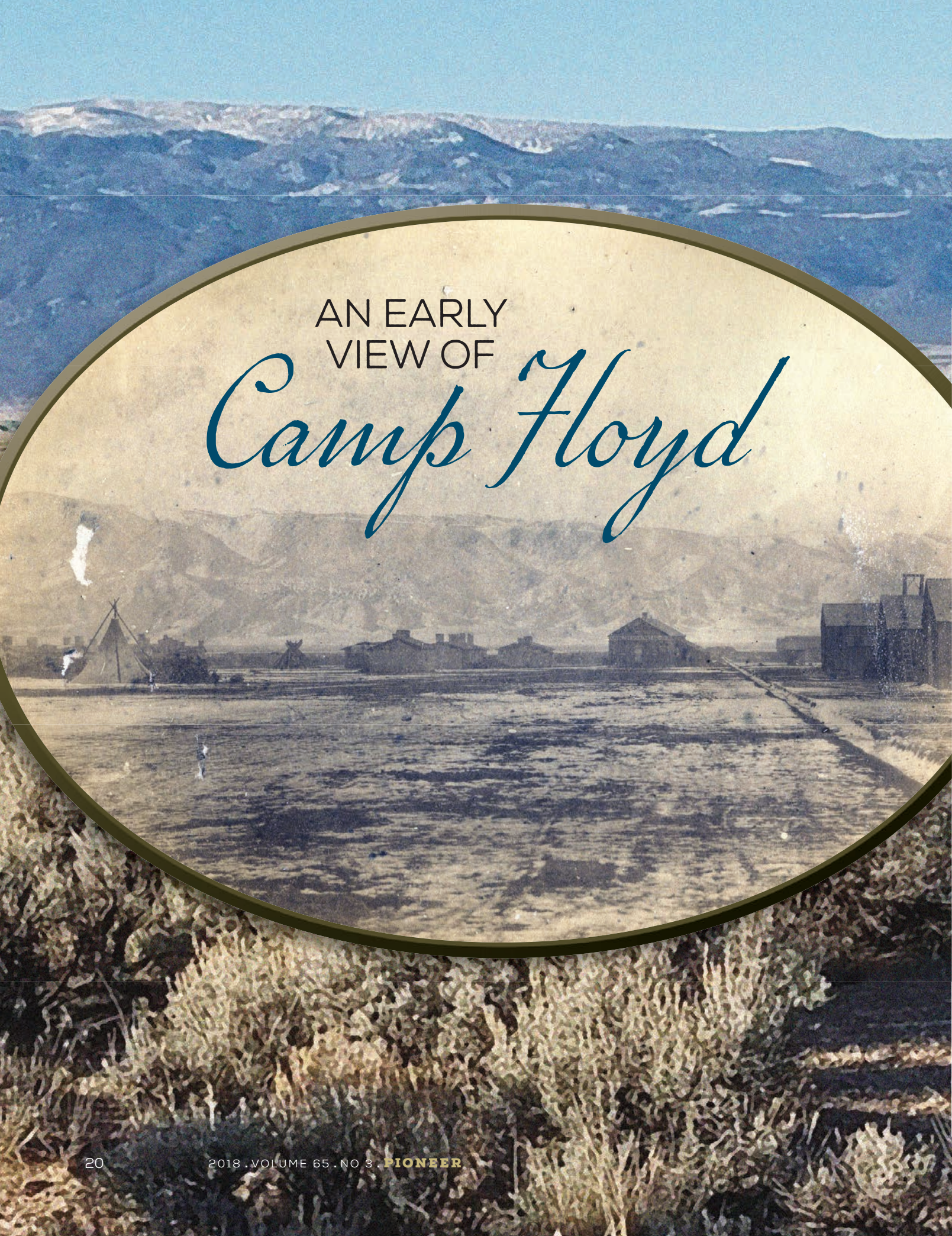
AN EARLY VIEW OF

Camp Floyd

A soldier newly stationed at Camp Floyd wrote the following description of the isolated post as he viewed it on his arrival on September 25, 1858, roughly two months after it was established. This is an excerpt from a longer letter that was published in the *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin* on November 11, 1858. The writer used the name "Utah" in the datelines of the several letters he wrote to the newspaper while stationed at Camp Floyd. His real name is not known for certain, but it is understood that he was a native of Germany.

"Camp Floyd is one of the most miserable, disagreeable and uninteresting places that ever disgraced the earth. It is built upon a dry plain, entirely destitute of grass, or, indeed, any vegetation except the sage, that flourishes where nothing else will grow. The dry clay, pulverized by the numerous wagons passing in and about the camp, forms a fine dust, that drifts with blinding fury for miles around. When the wind blows, the dust drives through the camp so fierce and thick, that you can scarce see three yards ahead, and sore eyes, red and inflamed, are everywhere met with.

"The troops here are as yet in tents, but quarters built of 'dobied' sun-dried brick are in rapid progress. In about two weeks I presume Uncle Sam will have a mud village reared in Cedar Valley. There is no water near here except a little dirty stream that runs near the west end of the camp, scarcely large enough to drown a mouse. To obtain wood we have to send nearly twelve miles, and there they have nothing but light cedar. And yet this place is the headquarters of the department of Utah, and of four regiments of the army—2d Dragoons, and the 5th, 7th, and 10th Infantries. Besides these regiments there are four companies of Artillery here, so that we have a pretty strong corps: and not at all liable to attack from either Mormon or Indian.

"General Johnston is here, but as he has command of the Department, the post is under the command of Col. Morrison of the 7th Infantry. Col. Cooke, the commander of our regiment, is absent, and Lieutenant Colonel Howe has command pro-tem. He is an energetic, enterprising officer, and under his direction the 'doby' houses are getting along with marvelous rapidity. We have four fine regimental bands here that at different times during the day discourse most excellent music for the benefit of the soldiers. Were it not for the dust and the barrenness of the soil Camp Floyd would be quite a pleasant place, but as it is now, it is almost intolerable, and though Gen. Johnston may be a man of energy, tact, and bravery, he is by no means a man of taste, at least Camp Floyd is evidence that such is the case." ▽

Source: Harold D. Langley, *To Utah With the Dragoons* (1974), 86–7, 90.
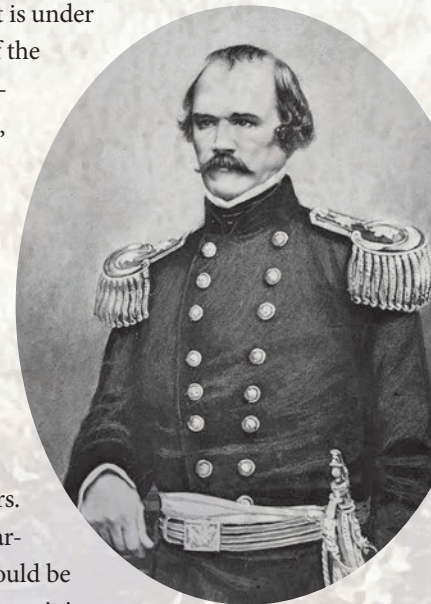
MILITIAMAN WILLIAM STOWELL
## AND THE
Utah War

NEVER A COMPLAINT, BY DON STIVERS

R. DEVAN JENSEN AND KENNETH L. ALFORD

The Utah War of 1857–58 grew out of rising tensions between Utah's leadership and federal authorities. This armed conflict, formally identified by the US Government as the Utah Expedition, foreshadowed one of the struggles that would play out a few short years later during the American Civil War, the struggle between states' rights and federal authority. This article outlines events of the Utah War as experienced by Nauvoo Legion member William R. R. Stowell and his family.[1]

Federal and Utah territorial authorities often clashed regarding polygamy, American Indian policy, Mormon control of territorial courts and mail service, and the moral character of territorial appointees. On January 6, 1857, Utah's legislators approved provocative measures rejecting federal officials who did not reflect local values. Shortly thereafter, President James Buchanan received reports of rebellion and murder in Utah.
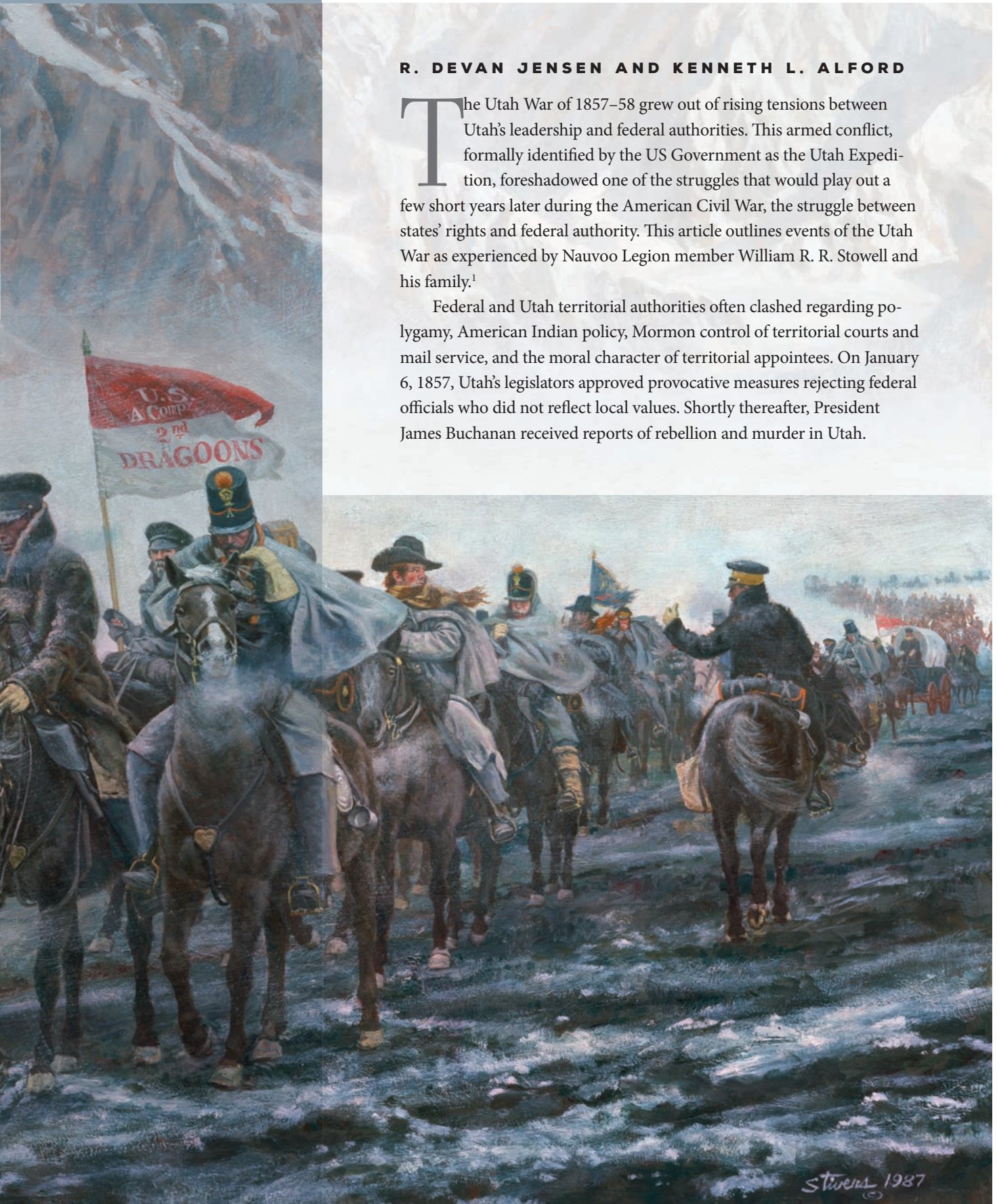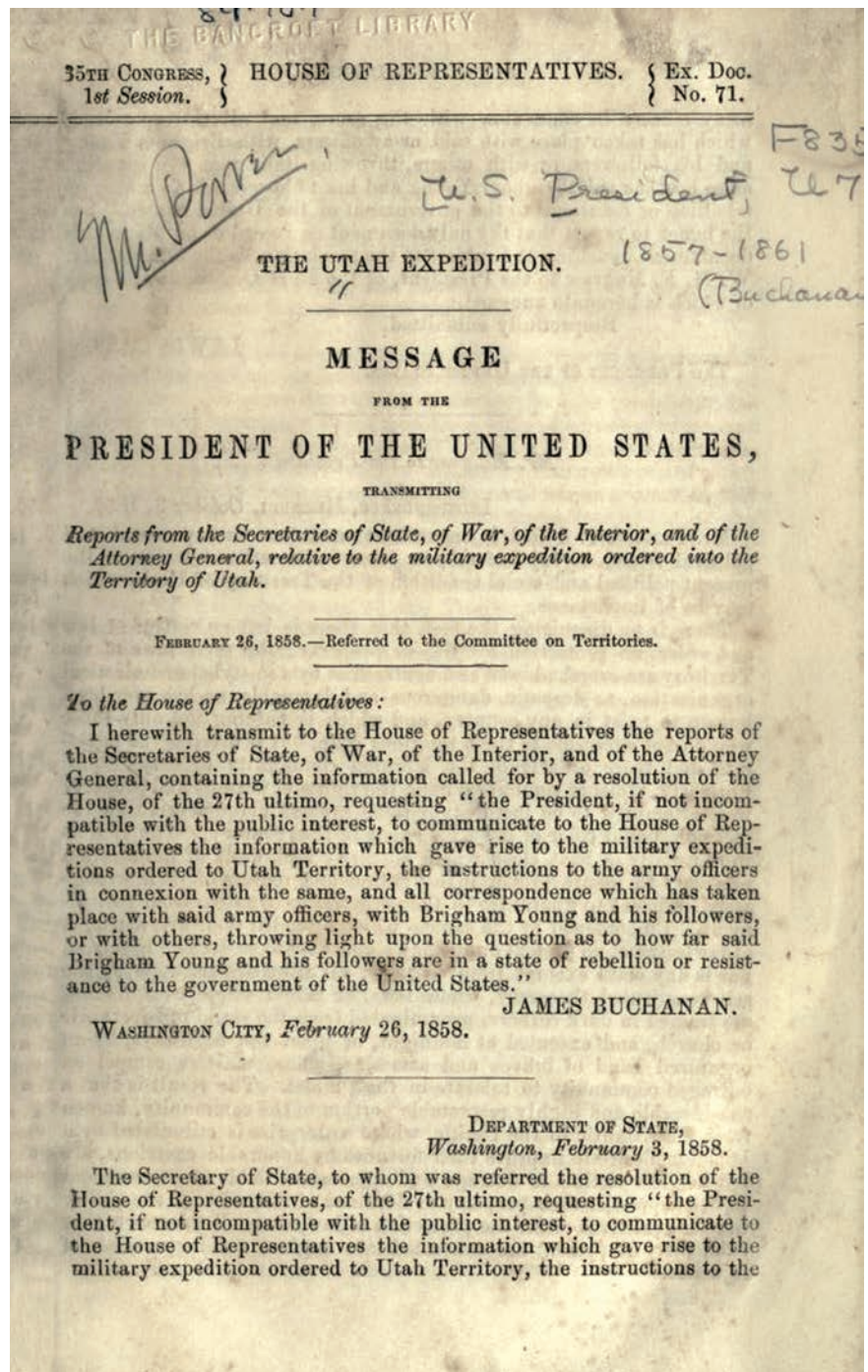
These originated with William W. Drummond, former associate justice of the Utah Territory Supreme Court and a married man who flaunted his mistress in public. While still in office, Drummond had tried to diminish Mormon influence by reducing the power of Utah's county probate courts. When local officials rebuffed him, he wrote a formal complaint to Buchanan, then fled to California and later to New Orleans. From there he formally resigned his position via a maligning letter that was published in the *New York Herald* alleging that Church leaders had murdered a government-appointed official and destroyed territorial court papers and that local leaders engaged in chronic harassment of federal appointees. Drummond called for a federally appointed territorial governor to be sent to Utah with a full military escort.

In May 1857, while Congress was adjourned, President Buchanan ordered US troops to escort Alfred Cumming and Delano R. Eckels to Salt Lake City and there to install them, respectively, as territorial governor and territorial supreme court justice. The army left Fort Leavenworth (Kansas Territory) on July 18. On July 24, 1857, a large group of Saints gathered in Big Cottonwood Canyon heard alarming news that the US Army was marching on Utah.

Delay Tactics and Capture

Recalling mob action that led to forced exoduses from first Missouri and later Illinois, Governor Young mustered Utah's territorial militia, the Nauvoo Legion, on August 1. Young declared martial law on September 15 and restricted admittance to the territory. Led by Colonel Edmund B. Alexander, US military forces had already entered Utah Territory in today's southwestern Wyoming. In late September, Alexander set up temporary Camp Winfield on Hams Fork of the Green River and reconnoitered two possible routes of march to Salt Lake City—northwest through Soda Springs or southwest through Echo Canyon.

35TH CONGRESS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Ex. Doc.
1st Session. No. 71.

THE UTAH EXPEDITION.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

Reports from the Secretaries of State, of War, of the Interior, and of the Attorney General, relative to the military expedition ordered into the Territory of Utah.

FEBRUARY 26, 1858.—Referred to the Committee on Territories.

To the House of Representatives:

I herewith transmit to the House of Representatives the reports of the Secretaries of State, of War, of the Interior, and of the Attorney General, containing the information called for by a resolution of the House, of the 27th ultimo, requesting "the President, if not incompatible with the public interest, to communicate to the House of Representatives the information which gave rise to the military expeditions ordered to Utah Territory, the instructions to the army officers in connexion with the same, and all correspondence which has taken place with said army officers, with Brigham Young and his followers, or with others, throwing light upon the question as to how far said Brigham Young and his followers are in a state of rebellion or resistance to the government of the United States."

JAMES BUCHANAN.

WASHINGTON CITY, *February 26, 1858.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 3, 1858.

The Secretary of State, to whom was referred the resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 27th ultimo, requesting "the President, if not incompatible with the public interest, to communicate to the House of Representatives the information which gave rise to the military expedition ordered to Utah Territory, the instructions to the

In the fall of 1857, Cynthia Jane Stowell bade farewell to her husband, William, a lieutenant in the Utah territorial militia. Cynthia, who was pregnant, was raising nine children—six of whom were orphans she and William had adopted. William's plural wife, Sophronia Kelley, had three additional children. By early October, Lieutenant Stowell had been assigned as an adjutant in Major Joseph Taylor's infantry battalion to hinder the federal army's advance.

Fort Bridger

PART OF THE CAMP AT FORT BRIDGER.
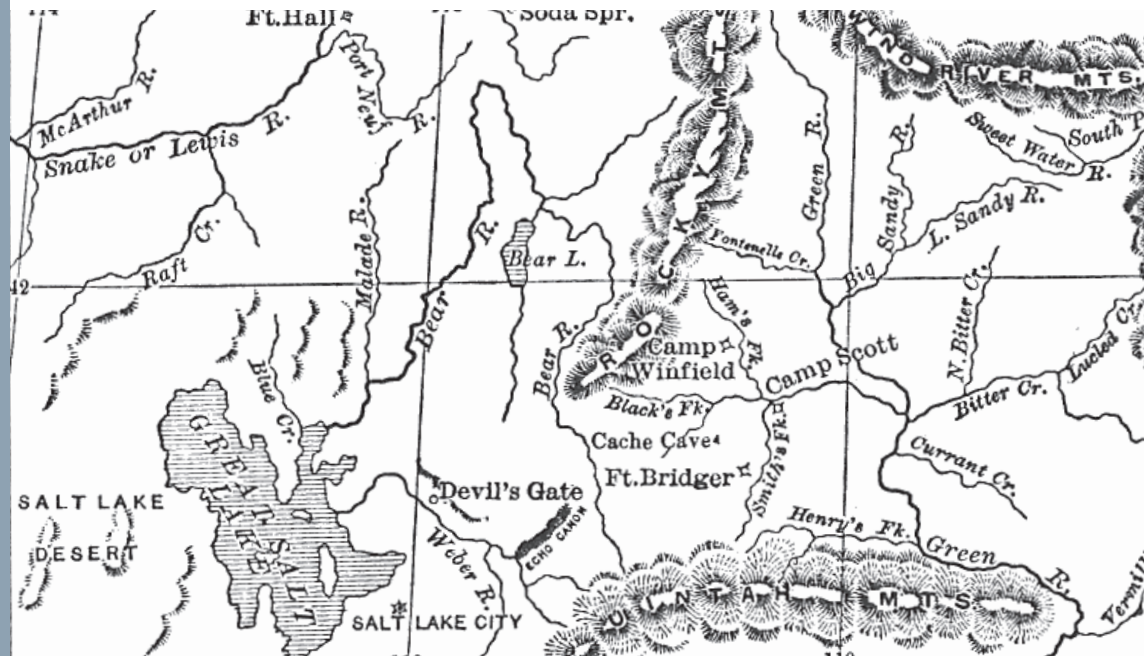
With other divisions of the Utah militia, Taylor's battalion burned Fort Bridger and nearby Fort Supply on October 3 and 4. During the night of October 3, Stowell dreamed that he would be captured by federal troops and made a prisoner of war, but that he would subsequently escape "without any material injury," that he would ride unharmed through Echo Canyon and return safely to his family.[2]

That same week, Taylor, Stowell, and three other men were dispatched to watch the movement of the approaching US troops in the Green River area.[3] Stowell carried personal orders from Lt. Gen. Daniel H. Wells, the Nauvoo Legion's commander and Brigham Young's second counselor in the First Presidency,[4] instructing Taylor's battalion to watch and report on the army's whereabouts, to "annoy them in every possible way," to "stampede their animals, . . . and take no life, but destroy their trains and stampede or drive away their animals at every opportunity."[5] Major Lot Smith's contingent patrolled with similar orders. In early October, Smith's company burned three army supply trains hauling tons of food and supplies. The following week, the contingent ran off seven hundred head of federally owned cattle. Over the next weeks, the number of cattle driven off by Mormon volunteers increased to a thousand head and then to two thousand. These actions escalated Utah-federal tensions to the point that both Colonel Johnston and Brigham Young authorized the use of deadly force.[6]

On October 16, Taylor and Stowell traveled toward campfires they thought belonged to Lot Smith but were surprised and then cap-

tured by Captain Randolph B. Marcy's advance patrol. Immediately following his capture, Stowell made plans to destroy Wells' orders—which he carried inside a small pocket journal he kept under his shirt. But a spiritual impression counseled him to "keep them, for they will do more good than harm."[7]

Under questioning by Colonel Alexander, Stowell warned of strong fortifications in Echo Canyon, exaggerating the number of Utah troops as twenty-five to thirty thousand.[8] He claimed that US troops would suffer severe casualties if they attempted to enter the Salt Lake Valley by force. When soldiers found the orders Stowell was carrying, he was interrogated again. Stowell again bluffed, asserting that the route through Soda Springs to the Valley was guarded as well.[9]

Army regulars mocked Stowell, boasting that they would winter in Salt Lake City and that "Jesus Christ cannot keep us out!"[10] Believing Stowell's first report, Colonel Alexander decided against the Echo Canyon route, announcing to his men that they would enter the Salt Lake Valley by way of Soda Springs, traveling northwesterly down Hams Fork.[11] Partway down the Fork, however, Alexander's forces halted. Stowell's and Taylor's reports on Mormon defensive operations had caused division within the army's leadership regarding the best route to follow. Consequently, the army retraced its route southeasterly up Hams Fork to wait for Colonel Johnston's arrival.[12] While the federal troops were frustrated and nicknamed Alexander "Old Granny" because of his indecision, Taylor and Stowell secretly rejoiced. They recognized that the delay—along with the more significant impact of "severe weather, deep snow, and a massive loss of animals"[13]—would likely forestall any armed conflict.

Taylor and Stowell were kept in irons and suffered from cold, hunger, and growing uncertainty. Stowell claimed that a sergeant fed them vegetable soup that had been poisoned. They vomited after sampling it and administered priesthood blessings to each other. Both men remained weak for several days.[14]

Colonel Johnston, a Class of 1826 West Point graduate, arrived in camp on November 3 with a contingent escorting Governor Cumming and Justice Eckels. About that time,

Taylor and Stowell devised an escape plan. The cold march had aggravated Stowell's rheumatism, and he was warming himself near a campfire. Craftily, Stowell began telling a tall tale to distract the guards. When a herd of cattle passed nearby, Taylor slipped from the shadows surrounding the fire and into the herd, going unmissed for about fifteen minutes.[15] A party with bloodhounds searched but could not find him. Half frozen after walking for miles, Taylor eventually joined up with a Mormon supply train four miles from Fort Bridger. He shared intelligence regarding Johnston's position and plans and reported Stowell's capture directly to Brigham Young.[16]

On November 16, US troops established temporary winter quarters at Camp Scott, about two miles southwest of Fort Bridger. They spread a Sibley tent over Stowell and staked it tightly down to prevent his escape. Many animals died of the cold that night.[17]

Near Camp Scott, Governor Cumming, Justice Eckels, and their associates set up a temporary seat of territorial government in quarters called Eckelsville, a "ramshackle warren of dugouts, log cabins, tents, buggies, and wagon boxes" near burned-out Fort Bridger.[18] Here, Stowell complained of being confined in the guard tent "with filthy lousy soldiers and being covered with body lice."[19] In a letter to Colonel Johnston dated November 26, Brigham Young declared, "If you imagine that keeping, mistreating or killing Mr. Stowell will redound to your credit or advantage, future experience may add to the stock of your better judgment."[20]

Justice Delano R. Eckels
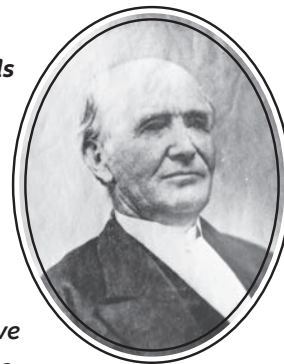
Trial for Treason

It was in Eckelsville on December 30 that Justice Delano Eckels convened a grand jury that indicted twenty Latter-day Saints for high treason, among them William Stowell. The *New-York Tribune* reported:

> *Stowell is a thick, heavy-set man, not more than five feet six inches in height, with a rough and obstinate, but not malignant countenance, short and shaggy black hair, and an illiterate expression. He was clothed warmly, and with tolerable neatness, Judge Eckels having personally inspected and provided for his physical cleanliness before the arrival of the Marshal at camp. He listened to the reading of the indictment with composure, and was evidently gratified, surprised to find his name in such noble company.*[21]

The list of those indicted included the Church's First Presidency—Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Daniel H. Wells—together with John Taylor, Lot Smith, Orrin Porter Rockwell, Joseph Taylor, Robert Burton, and William Stowell.[22] Stowell hired an attorney, pled not guilty, and asked for an adjournment to secure witnesses.[23] Eckels agreed to a delay enabling both sides to call witnesses, noting that there were still numerous "other persons who had not yet been arrested."[24] Meanwhile, Stowell remained a prisoner.

It was about the time of William's arraignment that Cynthia and Sophronia learned the facts of his imprisonment. "Circumstances did not admit," Cynthia wryly observed, "to our keeping up a correspondence with him."[25] For his part, William was able to write his family only one short note during his captivity. During a midwinter visit to the Stowell home, Elder Orson Hyde assured Cynthia and Sophronia that "all things would work around right for Mr. Stowell's deliverance and restoration to his family."[26]

THE BIVOUAC.

As the cold winter weeks dragged by at Camp Scott, Stowell and a fellow prisoner stockpiled food and plotted an escape. In late February or early March 1858 the pair bribed a guard and made their escape. After four days of wandering near Fort Supply, however, they concluded they would almost certainly die of exposure, so they returned to Camp Scott. William later wrote that it required great endurance—and a lot of humility—to return to the camp. Their feet, hands, and face were "frozen and our strength almost exhausted." Eckels sarcastically observed to Stowell that "he would

rather have frozen to death on the mountains than come back." Stowell curtly responded, "I was not ready to die yet."[27] To thwart future escape attempts, soldiers manacled Stowell and each of his fellow prisoners with a heavy ball and chain.[28]

The Move South

On March 18, Brigham Young convened a War Council consisting of the First Presidency, eight members of the Quorum of the Twelve, and thirty senior Nauvoo Legion officers. Still believing that the approaching US forces were hostile and they would conceivably repeat mob actions like those occurring in Missouri and Illinois, the Council decided to follow Young—"their American Moses"— "into the desert and not [into] war."[29]

Three days later, Brigham Young convened a special conference in the old adobe Tabernacle on Temple Square to present to the assembled Saints the plans for what is now called the Move South. Young said it would be better to burn their cities than allow the army to live in them—rendering hollow any military victory. He instructed residents north of the Point of the Mountain to move south for safety. He divided Utah Saints into three groups: (1) people living in northern Utah who would move south; (2) a few northern men who would remain behind to guard their homes, irrigate the crops, and, if necessary, to burn their homes and fields so that the invading army would be left with nothing; and (3) those living south of the Point of the Mountain who would not move but who would assist and help care for those Saints who would temporarily live near them.

Young sent scouting expeditions into the western desert, hoping to find suitable areas—with water sources and pasture lands—for temporary settlement. Instead, returning scouts reported finding only empty desert.

THE MARCH ACROSS THE PLAINS IN A SNOW-STORM.

Thus, many of the roughly 30,000 people displaced during the Move South temporarily crowded into Utah County. Amazingly, the displaced Saints comprised roughly seventy-five percent of Utah settlers, given that Utah's 1860 census just two years later numbered the population at only 40,273.

By early April, Elder Wilford Woodruff noted in his journal: "North to the South the road is lined for 50 to 100 miles from Box Elder to Provo with horse Mule & ox teams and loose cattle sheep & hogs and also men women & Children. All are leaving their homes."[30] Woodruff's report continued,

Many suffered and some came near perishing. Horses died by the wayside. Men unloaded their goods in the mud. Others took their teams off and left their wagons sticking in the mud. Some teams gave out and whole families lay in the mud under their wagons overnight. Women carried their children in their arms and waded in water mud and snow knee deep.[31]

Naturally, Cynthia and Sophronia Stowell and their children were among the displaced families. When the announcement came, both women were only short weeks away from giving birth. "In our situation the difficulties … seemed insurmountable," Cynthia wrote. "The 14th of April 1858 my child [Rufus] was born. The move was then

**"I WAS NOT READY
TO DIE YET."**

— *William R. R. Stowell*

far advanced. On the 21st of April we left our home with one wagon and two yoke of steers."[32] Sophronia gave birth to a daughter on May 4. The two women and their twelve children shared a single wagon.

In early May, Cynthia Stowell met with Governor Alfred Cumming in Salt Lake City to plead for her husband William's release. Cumming listened to her pleas and promised to take a letter to William when he returned to Camp Scott.[33] Cynthia wrote the following account of her meeting with the incoming governor:

He received me very kindly. He inquired about the family and as his queries led to it I gave him an account of the family, its numbers, the orphan children, etc. He said it was a bad shape to be in. His sympathetic attitude cheered me. ... He assured me he would do all he could for Mr. Stowell. At the close of our short interview he gave me ten dollars. I had expected he would feel ugly towards us and of course was the more surprised at his kindness and sympathy.[34]

With the money she received from the governor, Cynthia bought shoes for Sophronia and some yards of fabric to make clothing for the children.[35]

Traveling to Camp Scott, Governor Cumming tearfully interviewed William Stowell and assured him of "a fair, and impartial trial and not by a jury of that camp."[36] An informal peace commissioner, Colonel Thomas L. Kane, was simultaneously working to resolve tensions and misunderstandings between the federal government and the Latter-day Saints. At the end of May, peace commissioners Benjamin McCulloch and Lazarus W. Powell[37] arrived with a proclamation from President Buchanan granting general pardon to all accused or indicted Mormons. Stowell swore allegiance to the United States on June 1 and was freed.[38] As he rode down Echo Canyon on June 4 with Governor Cumming's advance party, he recalled his dream from the previous autumn.[39]

Stowell met with Brigham Young to report his experiences and to learn the status of his wives and children. Cynthia and her children were in Pondtown (now Salem), and Sophronia and her children were living in Payson.[40] Cynthia later wrote,

As patiently as possible we awaited the arrival of Mr. Stowell. We understood that the general pardon of the President of the U.S. would release him. He arrived in Payson the 10th of June, 1858. . . . When Mr. Stowell returned my dream before related in which I saw him play with the baby on my lap was fulfilled."[41]

After a joyful reunion, Stowell and his large family made the hot, dry journey home to Ogden. Barely four months later, Cynthia's baby son Rufus died on October 14, and Sophronia's baby daughter Mary died three days later. They were buried in the same grave. "Surely it was a time of great destitution and affliction to us," Cynthia wrote. "Many others suffered with us. There was the satisfaction that we had done the best we could as a people under the difficulties that were forced upon us by our enemies."[42] ▼

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Portions of this article are adapted from R. Devan Jensen and Kenneth L. Alford. "'I Was Not Ready to Die Yet': William Stowell's Utah War Ordeal." BYU Studies 56.4 (2017): 29–52.

1 William wrote three accounts of his Utah War experiences: "William R. Stowell Journal, circa 1857," MS 4602, Church History Library, Salt Lake City; "The Echo Cañon War," Papers, Utah War, MSS 2379, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; and a biographical sketch published as James Little, ed., *A Biographical Sketch of William Rufus Rogers Stowell* (Colonia Juárez, Mex.: By the author, 1893), Weber County Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Ogden, Utah.

2 "William R. Stowell Journal" (hereafter WRSJ), 1.

3 WRSJ 2.

4 For more about Wells's defensive campaign, see Quentin Thomas Wells, *Defender: The Life of Daniel H. Wells* (2016), ch. 11.

5 "Indictment of the Mormon Leaders," *New-York Tribune,* March 1, 1858, 6.

6 David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, *The Mormon Rebellion: America's First Civil War, 1857–1858* (2008), 218, 222.

7 Little 25.

8 WRSJ 3.

9 Little 25.

10 Little 25.

11 Brandon J. Metcalf, "The Nauvoo Legion and the Prevention of the Utah War," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 72.4 (Fall 2004): 310.

12 Stowell, "Echo Canon War," 6.

13 William P. MacKinnon, ed., *At Sword's Point, Part 2: A Documentary History of the Utah War, 1858–1859* (2016), 618.

14 Stowell, "Echo Canon War," 5.

15 WRSJ 3.

16 Joseph Taylor, Journal, 1857, Church History Library.

17 Stowell, "Echo Canon War," 7–8.

18 MacKinnon 284.

19 Stowell, "Echo Canon War," 8.

20 Brigham Young to Col. A. S. Johnston, November 26, 1857, in *Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* January 4, 1857, 3–4.

21 "A Mormon Prisoner—His Trial," *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune,* March 2, 1858, transcript obtained from L. Tom Perry Special Collections, HBLL, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

22 Third District Court (Territorial), Case Files, *People v. Young.*

23 Stowell, "Echo Canon War," 8.

24 "A Mormon Prisoner—His Trial," March 2, 1858.

25 Cynthia Jane Park Stowell, "Autobiography," privately printed, 4.

26 Ibid.

27 Stowell, "Echo Canon War," 9.

28 Little 30.

29 Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898 Typescript,* ed. Scott G. Kinney, 9 vols. (1983–84), 5:178.

30 *Wilford Woodruff's Journal,* 5:177–8, 186, spelling standardized.

31 Ibid., 5:178.

32 Cynthia Jane Park Stowell 5.

33 MacKinnon 463.

34 Cynthia Jane Park Stowell 5.

35 Ibid.

36 Little 31.

37 McCulloch, from Texas, had earlier turned down the President's invitation to be Utah's territorial governor; Powell was Kentucky senator-elect.

38 MacKinnon 510 n. 10.

39 WRSJ 7.

40 Little 33.

41 Cynthia Jane Park Stowell 5.

42 Ibid.

THE UTAH EXPEDITION
in Utah Territory, 1857-1858

LEGEND

Route of U.S. Army
Alexander's March
Oregon Trail
Sublette's Cutoff

[Present day place names shown in brackets]

SCALE OF MILES

0   10   20   30   40   50

Prepared by D. H. Baker from material gathered by
LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen
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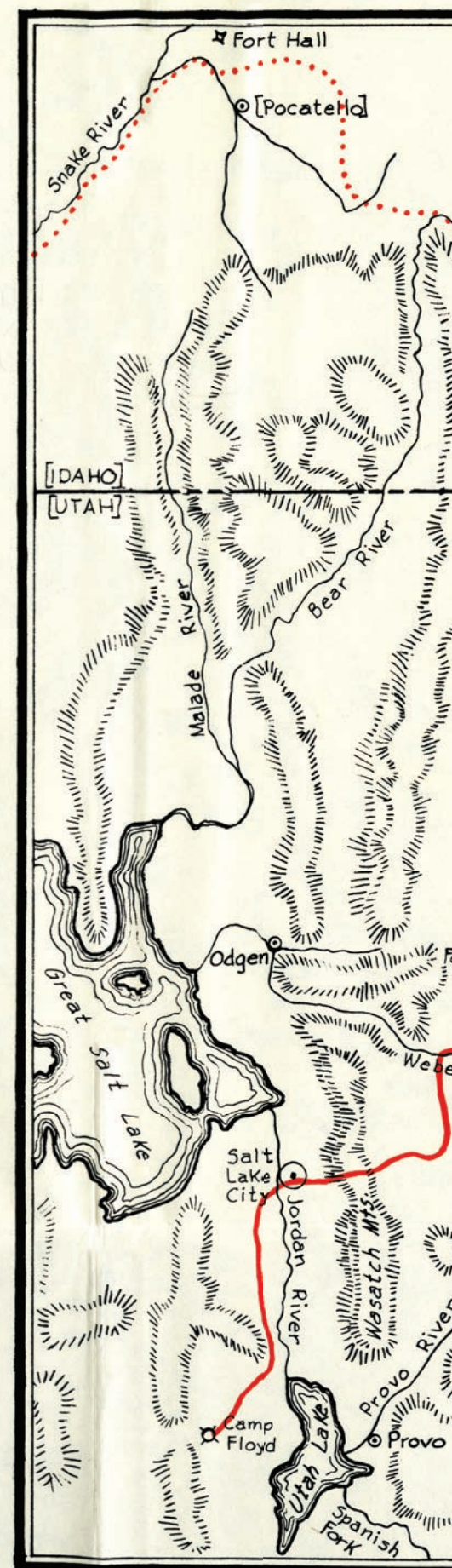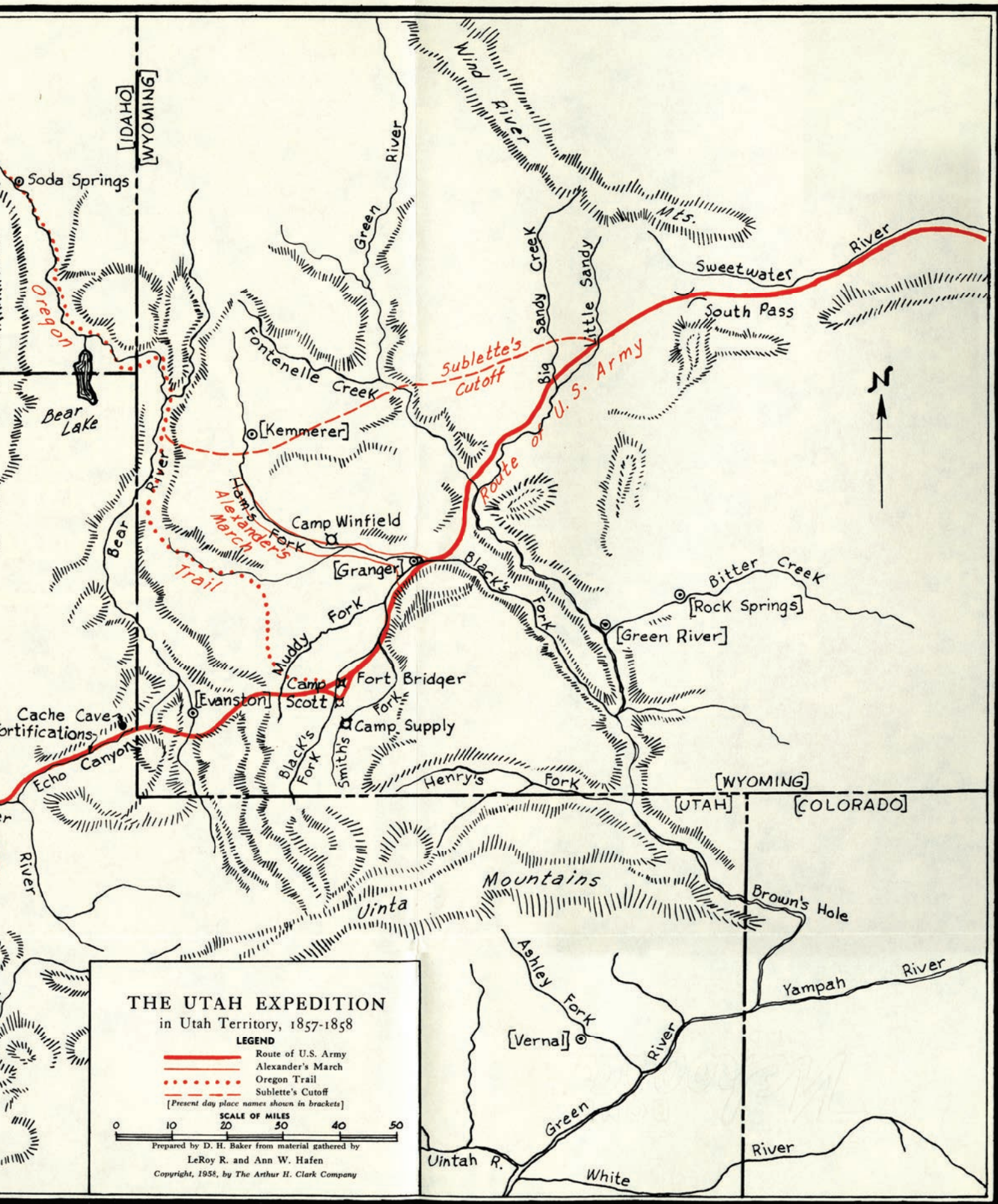
Poetry and Songs of the Utah War

BY KENNETH L. ALFORD

While the Utah War was relatively short-lived, and while it was largely a bloodless conflict, it generated intense emotions and rhetoric both inside and outside the Utah Territory. Perhaps there are no better measures of these responses than the poetry and songs inspired by the threat of war and military occupation in Utah. This paper provides a sampling of poetry that became popular inside and outside the Utah Territory in 1857–58, some of which still holds a place in Latter-day Saint culture.

In a speech at the Bowery on Temple Square in July 1857, Heber C. Kimball, Brigham Young's

EXPL⁵ OF CAPT. J.H. SIMPSON IN UTAH, 1859

first counselor, stated defiantly: "Send 2,500 troops here, our brethren, to make a desolation of this people! God Almighty helping me, I will fight until there is not a drop of blood in my veins. … I have wives enough to whip out the United States; for they will whip themselves. Amen."[1] There was a similar defiance in Brigham Young's response to Captain Stewart Van Vliet's September 1857 request that the Saints sell supplies to US troops. Young flatly refused to do so, warning Van Vliet that he would instruct militiamen to burn fields, orchards, and homes to the ground should US troops try to take possession of them.[2] This same insurgency is reflected in "Deseret," a song by W. W. Phelps published in the *Deseret News* in November. Dedicated to "Governor Young" and sung to the popular nineteenth century tune "Lilly Dale,"[3] the sixth stanza declared:

When the chain had been broke,
    Then we shook off the yoke,
And the bow shall not choke us again;
    Is a sword drawn to kiss;
    Or a cannon for bliss?
No; such emblems of peace, we
    disdain:
Deseret! Deseret! Home of the free;
May the sun never shine
On a coward of thine,—
BRIGHAM stands at the helm now for
    thee.[4]

"SEND 2,500 TROOPS HERE, OUR BRETHREN, TO MAKE A DESOLATION OF THIS PEOPLE! GOD ALMIGHTY HELPING ME, I WILL FIGHT UNTIL THERE IS NOT A DROP OF BLOOD IN MY VEINS." — HEBER C. KIMBALL

J.J. YOUNG from a Sketch by H.V.A.v BECKH.

Eliza R. Snow

Throughout the conflict, copies of the *Deseret News* were sent to newspapers across the nation. One *New York Times* writer called the politically-themed poems that frequently appeared in the Church newspaper's pages "poetical effusions, from Mormon writers, touching upon existing troubles."[6] Several Mormon-authored poems were published outside of Utah—including in the *New York Times* itself, as when—in January 1858—it reprinted W. G. Mills' skillful translation of "The Marseillaise," retitling it the "Mormon Battle Song."[7] To be sure, Mills had intended his readers to see close parallels between themselves and the French—who struggled for decades to achieve independence—but there was a certain irony in the *Times* editors' apparently not perceiving the text as a translation, an irony that Mills himself would have enjoyed. The rousing final stanza and chorus of his translation read as follows:

> *Oh, love of home! That has us nourished,*
> *Our vengeful arms guide and attend,*
> *Oh, Liberty! That we have cherished,*
> *Assist us who thy cause defend;*
> *Beneath our banner proudly flying*
> *May victory her arms unfold,*
> *And may expiring foes behold*
> *Thy triumph and our fame undying.*
>
> *To arms! ye Citizens!*
> *Your martial force array,*
> *March on, march on, that liberty*
> *May crown our deeds to-day!*[8]

As preparations expanded for the arrival of a possibly hostile United States Army, several Saints—women as well as men—wrote poetry related to the looming conflict. In October 1857, the *Deseret News* published Eliza R. Snow's "From the Ladies of Utah to the Ladies of the United States Camp in a crusade against the 'Mormons,'" a portion of which asks:

> *Why are you in these mountains,*
> *Expos'd to frosts and snows,*
> *Far from your shelt'ring houses—*
> *From comfort and repose? . . .*
>
> *Have you been mobb'd and plunder'd*
> *Till you are penniless,*
> *And then in destitution*
> *Driven to the wilderness?*
>
> *No no; you've join'd a crusade*
> *Against the peace of those*
> *Driv'n to these distant valleys*
> *By cruel, murd'rous foes. . . .*
>
> *We're well prepar'd to teach you,*
> *And that you may discern;*
> *We simply here remind you,*
> *You've just **commenc'd to learn.***[5]

erto been. I presume that it is well understood; therefore I will not repeat it.

Let us live so as to continually secure the favor of God, and I know that we will have constant peace and joy. This is my prayer in the name of Jesus. Amen.

THE MORMON MARSEILLAISE.

The Deseret *News* of October 21 has the following Mormon adaptation of the Marseillaise Hymn:—

THE MARSEILLAISE HYMN.

BY W. G. MILLS, GREAT SALT LAKE CITY.

Dedicated, with respects, to David O. Calder.

(A literal translation, slightly altered.*)

The day of glory's on us beaming,
Arise! sons of our father-land;
The hateful standard now is streaming,
Rais'd o'er us by the tyrant's hand.
Hark! hark! within our country's border
The cruel soldier's murd'rous cry:
Into your arms they almost fly
To kill, to ruin and disorder.

CHORUS.—To arms! ye citizens!
Your martial force array—
March on, march on, that liberty
May crown our deeds to-day!

What mean those hordes upon us speeding

Some early pioneers had been inclined to view the vast distance between Salt Lake City and the East Coast, the harsh climate of Utah's high desert, and even the Rocky Mountains as impediments to comfort, prosperity and general happiness. But when these very phenomena helped preserve the Saints from war during the winter of 1857–58, the Saints more generally began to view their "mountain home" as a blessing from God. Published in the Deseret News in December 1857, John S. Davis' "A Song for Deseret" suggested that Utah's daunting landscape kept outsiders at bay and enabled "the Lord [to] fight our battles":

Dreary plains are long and tedious
*   To Deseret;*
Kanyon rocks are looking furious
*   By Deseret;*
Fierce indeed are faithful lions
In the mountains, hills, and kanyons,
Watching mobs and hostile legions
*   To Deseret. . . .*

But the Lord will fight our battles
*   In Deseret,*
And will waste away the rabbles
*   From Deseret.*[9]

John Jaques, a survivor of the 1856 Martin Handcart Company who would become an assistant Church historian and a prominent Mormon poet,[10] was even more direct in glorifying the territory's "bold" canyons and mountain "bulwarks":

We thank thee for the deserts
*   And for the kanyon bold,*
*   For all our rocky bulwarks,*
*   And for the piercing cold,*
*   And that thou dost surround us*
*   With heavy mantling snows,*
For these are our defences
*   Against our Christian foes.*

We thank thee for these valleys,
*   The chambers of the Lord,*
The places of sure refuge
*   For those who love thy word;*
The hiding place for Israel,
*   As flocks see here they fly,*
That thy fierce indignation
*   May safely pass them by.*[11]
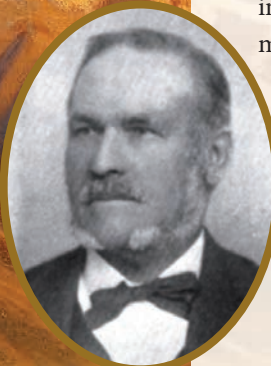
A popular refrain in Mormon speeches, correspondence, and discourse at that time was "the Kingdom of God or nothing."[12] Speaking in the Old Tabernacle on Sunday, October 18, 1857, Brigham Young stated: "With us, it is the kingdom of God, or nothing; and we will maintain it, or die in trying,—though we shall not die in trying."[13] John S. Davis composed the song, "The Kingdom of God or Nothing" for the Welsh Eisteddfod (musical festival) held in Salt Lake City on January 18, 1858. The second verse declared:

> Long driven and oppress'd,
>   We've hardly found a rest.
> Ere mobs rush to this far-off land:
>   Then, "Liberty or death"
>   We'll shout while we have breath;
> Whatever comes, we'll nobly stand.
>   God's great "Lion"
>   Watches Zion;
> Tyrant's blood shall stain each sword:
>   Rights we'll cherish,
>   Though we perish;
> For, **"The Kingdom of our Lord**
> **Or nothing,"** is the word
> That greets the foe on every hand.[14]

John Jaques' "Uncle Sam and His Nephews" was, at 230 lines, one of the longest poems inspired by the Utah War. Published across three newspaper columns in the *Deseret News* on February 17, 1858, the most frequently quoted section (which was also published in the *New York Times* three months later) echoed Brigham Young's September 1857 warning to Captain Van Vliet:

> If Uncle Sam's determin'd on this very fool-
>   ish plan,
> The Lord will fight our battles, and we'll
>   help him all we can.
> If what they now propose to do should
>   ever come to pass,
> We'll burn up every inch of wood and
>   every blade of grass.
> We'll throw down all our houses, every
>   soul shall emigrate,
> And we'll organize ourselves into a rov-
>   ing mountain state.
> Every move will make our vigor, like a
>   ball of snow, increase,
> And we'll never sue to you, but you to us
>   shall sue for peace.[15]

Stewart Van Vliet
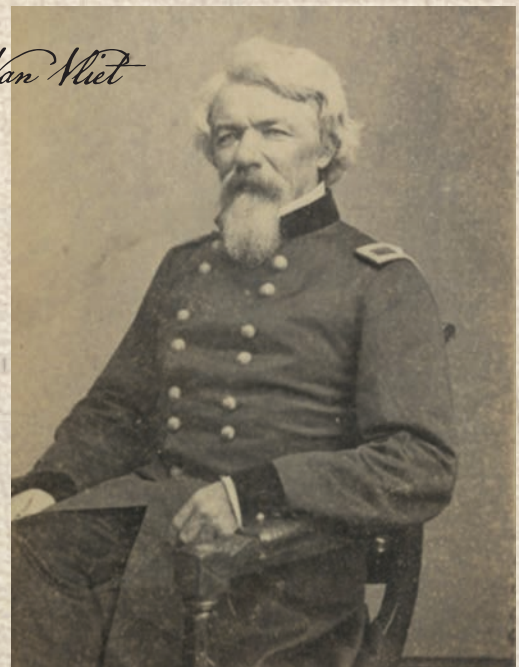
Through his February 1858 poem "The Public Treasury," Jaques satirically introduced an economic theme that would become increasingly topical across the United States during the ensuing months—the burgeoning cost of the Utah War to American taxpayers. "When Uncle Sam self-wisely stands," Jaques wrote,

> With usurp'd powers in
>   his hands,
> And issues forth unjust commands;
> And when God's kingdom's scarcely
>   known,
> At best a little mountain stone,
> Which Uncle Sam thinks all his own;
> Then James Buchanan's just the man,
> By his Tom Fool-ish Utah plan,
>   To drain the public treasury.
>
> When Sam and Buck lie down and rot,
> And their posterity's forgot,
> But not their hellish Utah plot;
> And when God's kingdom takes its stand,
> With rightful power throughout the land,
> To rule, to govern, to command;
> Then Brigham Young is just the man,
> By many a wise and happy plan,
>   To fill the public treasury.[16]

Called the "Panic of 1857," a financial crisis began in late 1857 and was the first worldwide economic crisis. Businesses began to fail, the railroad industry experienced financial difficulties, and hundreds of workers were laid off. Right cartoon: "Bank run on the Seamen's Savings Bank during the Panic of 1857."

As with other American military deployments, the longer the threat of war continued, the greater grew concerns for its cost. In November 1857, an unnamed Washington newspaper correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun* was quoted in the St. Louis *Evening News* as having affirmed that "the cost to the United States Government of the Mormon war would not fall short of FOUR HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS." The *Deseret News* republished the St. Louis article in February 1858;[17] five weeks later, it also printed what might be called a "response poem" by Emily H. Mills:

> Four hundred millions dollars
>   The 'Mormon' boys to lash!
> Uncle! you're most extravagant,
>   And prodigal of cash.
> What! spend so much upon the few
>   Who ne'er your path have cross'd?
> Such policy will never do—
>   You'd better save the cost.
>
> Four hundred millions dollars!
>   What have the 'Mormons' done?
> 'Tis true they've kept their foes without,
>   Nor fired a single gun;
> But who for that can blame them,
>   They've been so roughly tos't?
> E'en all the world can't 'slave them—
>   You'd better save the cost.[18]

RUN ON THE SEAMEN'S SAVINGS' BANK DURING THE PANIC.

The Utah War occasioned not only ballads, occasional poems, and popular songs, but also patriotic hymns. Two LDS hymns published during this period—which are included in current editions of the *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* albeit with altered lyrics—deserve special mention.

The first, "Up Awake, Ye Defenders of Zion," was written by Charles W. Penrose, a British convert who later served in the Church's First Presidency; his poem initially was published in England in 1857. Set to the stirring tune of "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," Penrose's hymn was sung at "meetings of the Saints in London and raised a purse of six hundred pounds [about $75,000 today], to aid the elders then in the mission field to return to the valleys of Utah."[19] The original lyrics were more aggressive than those in the current hymnbook and included these lines:

> *Shall we bear with oppression forever?*
> *Shall we tamely submit to the foe,*
> *While the ties of our kindred they sever*
> *And the blood of our prophets shall flow?*
> *No! the thought sets the heart wildly beating;*
> *Our vows at each pulse we renew:*
> *Ne'er to rest till our foes are retreating,*
> *And to be ever faithful and true.*[20]

The second, "O Ye Mountains High," was also composed by Penrose.[21] Originally entitled "Zion" and sung to the tune "O Minnie, O Minnie, Come o'er the Lea," it was later adapted to the popular tune "Lilly Dale." According to Penrose, the song was written "about 1854" while he was serving as a missionary in England. Penrose later recorded,

> *I was walking on a dusty road in Essex. My toes were blistered and*

my heels too. I had been promised that if I would stay in the mission field another year I should be released. That was the cry every year: "Brother Penrose, if you will stay and labor another year, we will see that you are released to go to Zion." But it kept up for over ten years. Of course I had read about Zion and heard about the streets of Salt Lake City, with the clear streams of water on each side of the street, with shade trees, and so on. I could see it in my mind's eye, and so I composed that song as I was walking along the road.[22]

Published in 1856, the year before the Utah War began, the song quickly became a Latter-day Saint favorite. It gained in popularity and meaning during US occupation of the territory. And it reportedly played a role during the US-Utah peace negotiations that ended the war. At a particularly tense point during the negotiations, Brigham Young invited David Dunbar, an immigrant from Scotland, to "please sing 'Zion.'" Dunbar did so, and whether Young intended that the hymn pacify the federal negotiators or alert them to Mormon resolve, the conversation moved forward and peace was eventually achieved.[23]

Predictably, Latter-day Saints were not the only people composing songs and poetry about the Utah War. One of the earliest "Gentile" compositions dedicated to the Utah War was the 1857 "Utah March," a piano instrumental composed by Emanuel Marquis and published in Boston.[24] G. W. Anderson's "The Mormon King" was a song sheet[25] printed in New York in late 1857 or early 1858. Modeled on public perceptions of Brigham Young during the Utah War, the lyrics were sung to the tune of "The King of the Cannibal Islands"—a popular comic song whose melody was similar to that of the Mormon pioneers' "The Handcart Song":

Oh hark kind friends while I do sing,
About Brigham Young the Mormon King,
Who swears that he'll do everything,
    Out in Salt Lake City.

He also says we'll rue the day,
That e'er we came into his way,
For all of us he'll surely slay.
    Out in Salt Lake City.

Poor Brigham's mind it can't be right,
Or else he's surely lost his sight,
To think he'd a Yankee 'fright,
    Away from Salt Lake City.

Chorus:
Old Brigham mind your P's and Q's,
Or we will show you what to do,
If we get our hands on you,
    Out in Salt Lake City.[26]

On New Year's Day 1858, the *New York Times* printed its annual "Carriers' Address," a full-page, multi-stanza poem addressing a series of popular issues and topics. In the 1858 edition of the feature spread, two stanzas were dedicated to "the Mormon war":

XIII.
The Mormon war is but a feeble sting
From those who writhe beneath an Eagle's claw,
The self-styled "saints" who dare defiance fling
At Government, morality and law,
Must to the laws their prompt submission make,
Or leave the precincts of the Great Salt Lake.

XIV.
Brigham declares his readiness to fight
For Zion, and his five-and-forty wives;
But, if he have the clear prophetic right,
And any hope to save his Mormons' lives,
He'd better travel north; perhaps a little frost
Will cool his passion, bring back reason lost.[27]

One of the most creative poetic nods to the Utah War came from E. Lyon, a seller of flea-and-tick powder whose shop was located at 424 Broadway in New York City. For several weeks in the spring of 1858, he published politically-themed advertisements for his products. The one for May 18 looked across the Continental Divide to the Salt Lake Valley for inspiration:

> *LATE FROM UTAH*
> *Startling news from Utah comes—*
> *Brigham says he'll fight;*
> *And with banners, trumpets, drums,*
> *Uncle Sam—who ne'er succumbs—*
> *Marches in his might.*
> *Mormon fools, your time's at hand—*
> *No more chance have ye,*
> *Than the insect race beneath*
> *Lyon's Powder, which is death*
> *To bug, roach and flea.*[28]

Lyon's Magnetic Powder Advertising Token, 1850s

By early spring 1858, President Buchanan had begun seeking a solution to the crisis he had created. He allowed Thomas L. Kane, a friend of the Saints, to travel to Utah as an unofficial emissary; he also sent two official peace commissioners, Benjamin McCulloch and Lazarus W. Powell, to negotiate with Church leaders. During the long late-spring weeks of that year, the peace commissioners and Utah's newly appointed governor, Alfred Cumming, held a series of often difficult meetings with Brigham Young and other Mormon officials. Eventually they reached a conciliatory settlement: the Mormons would accept a blanket pardon from the US President, and US troops would be free to pass quietly through the Salt Lake Valley on June 26, 1858, and to establish Camp Floyd forty miles southwest of Salt Lake City. This was the clearly anticlimactic report of the journalist accompanying the army on their march through the city:

> *All day long from dawn until sunset, the troops and trains poured through the city, the utter silence of the streets being broken only by the music of the military bands, the monotonous tramp of the regiments, and the rattle of the baggage wagons. . . . The only visible groups of spectators were on the corners near Brigham Young's residence. The stillness was so profound that during the interval between the passage of the columns, the monotonous gurgle of City Creek struck every ear.*[29]

Two days after the army's march, John Jaques composed a lengthy Utah War poem—"The Mormon Question." Published in the *Deseret News* on July 21, it provides a good summary of the Mormon view of the war.

> There's been a great commotion
>   About the Mormon war;
> It has, throughout the nation,
>   Set wisest men ajar.
> Some think we are rebellious,
>   Guilty of every crime;
> Some think we're hardly dealt by,
>   And have been all the time.
>
> [. . .]
>
> Of course we're always ready
>   To keep all wholesome laws;
> For other reputation
>   We've never given cause.
> Our country's constitution
>   We ever did respect;
> 'Tis only its abusers
>   That we outright reject.[30]

Given the intensity of the distrust, fear, and resolve on both sides of the conflict, the Utah War ended as amicably as could have been desired. But the miserable harvests following the pioneers' Move South resulted in a season of poverty that would last a year and more for most of the Saints; and the increased debt incurred by the US government on the eve of the secession crisis and the Civil War would prove devastating to the nation. Perhaps it is appropriate to end this article with John Jaques' humorously understated frustration at such waste:

> Buchanan had avoided
> Much guilt and keen remorse,
> If he'd not sent to Utah
> The cart before the horse.[31] ▼

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National Register
Utah Historic Site

Fairfield
Stagecoach
Inn

Division of State History

Located at the Camp Floyd State Park is the Stagecoach Inn, a two-story adobe and frame hotel built by John Carson in 1858. The Stagecoach Inn was the first stop south of Salt Lake City on the Overland Stage Route and also a stop on the Pony Express Route. The inn was restored in June 1959.

Portions of this article are adapted from Kenneth L. Alford, "Latter-day Saint Poetry and Songs of the Utah War." *Mormon Historical Studies* 12.1 (Spring 2011): 1–28.

1 Heber C. Kimball, "Discourse," *Deseret News,* 3 Oct 1857, 3; reprinted, *Journal of Discourses* (London: 1854–86), 5:95.

2 "The Utah Expedtition." Message from the President of the United States. House of Representatives. Ex. Doc. 71 (26 Feb 1858): 24–5; emphasis in original.

3 Sheet music for "Lilly Dale," a sad ballad about love lost, was originally published in Boston in 1852. "Lilly Dale" is familiar to Latter-day Saints as the current tune to the hymn "O Ye Mountains High."

4 W. W. Phelps, "Deseret," *Deseret News,* 25 Nov 1857, 4.

5 Eliza R. Snow, "The Ladies of Utah, to the Ladies of the United States Camp in a crusade against the 'Mormons,'" *Deseret News,* 14 Oct 1857, 4.

6 "Arrival of the Star of the West," *New York Times,* 14 May 1858.

7 The reprinted version: W. G. Mills, "The Mormon Battle Song," *The New York Times,* 15 Jan 1858.

8 W. G. Mills, "The Marseillais [sic] Hymn," *Deseret News,* October 21, 1857, 8. To underscore his text as a translation, Mills included a parenthetical headnote, "A literal translation, slightly altered," and this footnote explaining his changes: "The alteration is merely where the terms 'bloody,' 'Frenchmen,' or any local name is in the original." He also notes that he changes "kings" to "allies" in the opening lines of the second stanza, "What means those hordes upon us speeding / That treach'rous **kings** against us reared?"

9 John S. Davis, "A Song for Deseret," *Deseret News,* 9 Dec 1857, 6.

10 Prior to the beginning of the Utah War, John Jaques was appointed (30 Jun 1857) as a captain in the Nauvoo Legion Corps of Topographical Engineers ("General Orders No. 3," *Deseret News,* 1 Jul 1857, 8). Jaques authored two hymns in the current LDS hymnal, "Softly Beams the Sacred Dawning" and "Oh Say, What Is Truth?" President Heber J. Grant called Jaques "our beloved 'Mormon' poet" (Heber J. Grant, in *Conference Report,* April 1918, 25.)

11 John Jaques, "Hymn," *Deseret News,* 30 Dec 1857, 5.

12 See Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich: Mormon General and Western Frontiersman* (1974), 218–9.

13 Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses,* 5:336.

14 John S. Davis, "The Kingdom of God or Nothing," *Deseret News,* 17 Feb 1858, 6.

15 John Jaques, "Uncle Sam and His Nephews," *Deseret News,* 17 Feb 1858, 8.

16 John Jaques, "The Public Treasury," *Deseret News,* 24 Feb 1858, 1.

17 "The Mormon War—Its Vast Consequences—How to Wage It," *Deseret News,* 17 Feb 1858, 6. The actual cost of the war was probably closer to $20 million (see "Cruel Panegyrics of the Administration Press," *New York Times,* 23 Jun 1858).

18 Emily H. Mills, "You'd Better Save the Cost," *Deseret News,* 24 Mar 1858, 6.

19 Heber J. Grant, "Favorite Hymns," *Improvement Era,* 17.8 (1914).

20 Richard H. Cracroft and Neal E. Lambert, eds., *A Believing People: Literature of the Latter-day Saints* (1974), 201.

21 Charles W. Penrose composed two additional hymns in the current Church hymnal: "God of Our Fathers, We Come unto Thee" and "School Thy Feelings."

22 George D. Pyper, "The Story of Our Hymns," *Improvement Era,* 39.9 (1936).

23 See Frederick S. Buchanan, "Imperial Zion: The British Occupation of Utah," in Helen Z. Papanikolas, ed.. *The Peoples of Utah* (1976), 61–113. In 1858, these lines from the third and fourth stanzas would have been sung: "In thy mountain retreat, / God will strengthen thy feet; / **On the necks of thy foes thou shalt tread"** and "Thy deliv'rance is nigh, / Thy oppressors shall die / **And the Gentiles shall bow 'neath thy rod."**

24 Emanuel Marquis, "Utah March" (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1857). Available online at the Library of Congress website.

25 According to "The History of Song Sheets" published online at the Library of Congress website, song sheets are "not to be confused with sheet music" and are "single printed sheets, usually six by eight inches, with lyrics but no music. These were new songs being sung in music halls or new lyrics to familiar songs." While song sheets appeared in England as early as the 1500s, "their popularity in the United States skyrocketed in the early nineteenth century."

26 G. W. Anderson, "The Mormon King" (New York: Andrews, n.d.). Available online at the Library of Congress website.

27 "Carriers' Address," *New York Times,* 1 Jan 1858, 9.

28 "Late from Utah," *New York Times,* 18 May 1858, 5.

29 Quoted in Averam B. Bender, *The March of Empire: Frontier Defense in the Southwest 1848–1860* (1952), 183–4.

30 John Jaques, "The Mormon Question," *Deseret News,* 21 Jul 1858, 4. An explanatory note state that the poem was composed on June 28, 1858, in "ingville"—an inking problem—but presumably Springville, Utah, where Jaques was then living.

31 John Jaques, "The Mormon Question," *Deseret News,* 21 Jul 1858, 4.

FROM THE JOURNAL OF **LOT SMITH**

Lot Smith was born in May 1830 in Williamstown, Oswego County, New York, to William Orville and Rhoda Hough Smith, the fifth of twelve children. In late 1835 or early 1836 William and Rhoda invited LDS missionaries to teach them the restored gospel, which they accepted. By 1837 they had joined the body of Saints in the Nauvoo area. Lot effectually grew up in the Church, and at age sixteen, became the youngest member of the Mormon Battalion. He reportedly had to stand on tiptoe to meet the height requirement for enlistees.

When US troops under General Albert S. Johnston approached Utah Territory in the fall of 1857, twenty-seven-year-old Lot was appointed to lead a small LDS militia assigned to harass the federal troops as they moved through western Wyoming and into northern Utah—and, if possible, to discourage or delay their entering the Salt Lake Valley.

Smith's account of his militia's exploits also reveals much about its narrator: a young man of remarkable wisdom whose faith and courage more than compensated for his inexperience as a military commander. The following excerpts from Smith's journal begin with his receiving his militia assignment from Daniel H. Wells.

General Wells, looking at me as straight as possible, asked if I could take a few men and turn back the trains that were on the road or burn them. I replied that I thought I could do just what he told me to. The answer appeared to please him and he accepted it, telling me that he could furnish only a few men, but that they would be sufficient, for they would appear many more to our enemies. As for provisions, none would be supplied as we were expected to board at the expense of Uncle Sam.

At 4 o'clock [a.m.], Oct 3d, we started, numbering forty-four men [and four officers, including Smith himself]. We rode nearly all night and early next morning came in sight of an ox train headed westward. I left half of my men to get breakfast with the others and proceeded to interview the bull-whackers [civilians hired by the government to drive supply trains for the Army]. On calling for the captain, a large fine-looking man stepped forward and gave his name as Rankin. I informed him that we wanted him to turn his train and go the other way until he reached the States. He wanted to know by what authority I presumed to issue such orders. I replied, pointing to my men, that THERE was part of it and the remainder was a little further on, concealed in the brush. He swore pretty strongly . . . ; however, he faced about and started to go east, but as soon as out of sight, would turn again towards the mountains.

US troops shortly came and took the supplies from this wagon train to protect them from Smith and his men.

Losing the opportunity to make much impression on Rankin's train, I thought something must be done speedily to carry out the instructions received [from Wells], so I sent Captain [Horton David] Haight with twenty men to see if he could get the mules of the [T]enth Regiment on any terms. With the remaining twenty-three men I started for Sandy Fork to intercept trains that might be approaching [from] that direction. On the road, seeing a large cloud of dust at a distance up the river, on the old Mormon road, I sent scouts to see what caused it. They returned, overtaking me at Sandy [Fork], and reported a train of twenty-six large freight wagons.

After traveling fourteen miles, we came up to the train, but discovered that the teamsters were drunk, and knowing that drunken men were easily excited and always ready to fight, and remembering my positive orders not to hurt anyone except in self-defense, we remained in ambush until after midnight.

I then sent scouts to thoroughly

examine the appearance of their camp, to note the number of wagons and men. . . . When they returned and reported twenty-six wagons in two lines a short distance apart, I concluded that counting one teamster to each wagon and throwing in eight or ten extra men would make their force about forty. I thought we would be a match for them, and so advanced to their camp.

As Smith and his men approached the camp, they discovered that there were two trains of twenty-six wagons each. But by placing his men in such a way that, in the darkness, it would appear there were more men than he actually had, he approached the first wagon train.

I inquired for the captain of the train. Mr. Dawson stepped up and said he was the man. I told him I had a little business with him. He inquired the nature of it, and I replied by requesting him to get all of his men and their private property as quickly as possible out of the wagons, for I meant to put a little fire in them. He exclaimed, "For God's sake, don't burn the trains." I said that it was for His sake that I was going to burn them, and pointed out a place for his men to stack their arms, and another where they were to stand in a group, placing a guard over both.

At this moment, Smith is interrupted by a man claiming to be a messenger from yet another supply train, saying that he had dispatches. When Smith demanded that the man turn them over to him, the man replied that they were verbal only and that he had no written messages to share.

I told him that if he lied to me, his life was not worth a straw. He became terrified; in fact, I never saw a man more frightened. The weather was a little cool, but his jaws fairly clattered. . . .

While I was [thus] engaged with the first train, a guard of the second train came down to see what was going on. I told him to go back and not move and that I would be up soon and attend to them. My scout said, afterwards that when the guard returned he squatted down by a wagon wheel and never moved until I came up. . . . By [this] time I had my men scattered out, guarding the different interests, [and] they appeared to me to have dwindled to a very small body, but the sixty or

Through the winter, Smith's militia continued to harass Johnston's troops—diverting or burning supply wagons and driving off hundreds of oxen and cattle.

Lot Smith's service in the US military began when he joined the Mormon Battalion at age 16. During the first days of the Civil War, Smith was appointed by Pres. Abraham Lincoln to command a volunteer unit assigned to guard vital telegraph lines across Wyoming and northern Utah. Utah sculptor Stan Watts has nearly completed a stunning life-size monument of Lot Smith that was commissioned by Kathy Smith, the wife of the late Bert Smith, a grandson of the famous pioneer.

Known as the Mormon Flat Breastworks, a line of fortifications were built in the cliffs in 1857 at the mouth of Little Emigration Canyon, Morgan County, Utah. Twenty-five hundred Mormon volunteers wintered in Echo Canyon and East Canyon and at Mormon Flats, building defenses to confront Johnston's Army.

seventy prisoners (for with extras, the prisoners numbered that many) never discovered it. . . .

When all was ready, I made a torch, instructing my Gentile follower [that is, one of the "prisoners" from among the members of the supply train] to do the same, as I thought it was proper for the Gentiles to spoil the Gentiles. Out of respect to the candor poor Dawson had showed, I released him from going with me when we fired the trains. . . . We rode away leaving the wagons all ablaze.

Through the winter of 1857–8, Smith's militia continued to harass Johnston's troops and the wagon trains that supplied them, diverting or burning supply wagons and stealing a large herd of cattle. There would never be an actual armed confrontation between Smith's militia and federal troops, although in early 1858, there was a close encounter with a 300-troop unit in Echo Canyon. But Smith's men were able to evade the unit and return to the Valley safely. Indeed, the only gunshot wounds received by members of Smith's militia

were accidental, the result of a single shot from a misfired weapon: the ball shattered the thigh bone of Orson P. Arnold, grazed the side of Philo Dibble's head, and went through Samuel Bateman's hat. This accident was unfortunate for two reasons: it seriously injured Arnold, and it occurred just as a US cavalry was nearly upon them.

Arnold . . . fell with his leg under him, the jagged points of the broken bone sticking out, while the blood streamed from the awful wound. It looked as though he would bleed to death in five minutes. We laid our hands upon him according to the Order of the Church, and asked our Father to preserve him, for we knew that we could not.

While engaged setting the broken bone, a picket guard came running into camp and reported two hundred cavalry close upon us. Under the circumstances, nothing could have produced greater consternation. One of the men moved that we surrender. I told them that I would say when to do that. He then proposed that we run. I replied

that I would kill the man that made that motion. Then I made my first war speech. I told the men that we were not out here of our own choice, on our own business. Our people and their rights were being assailed. It was the Lord's work that we were engaged in, and we were called by Him to protect our homes and our religion. If He suffered those troops to come near us, we would trust in Him and whip them, no matter about their numbers. The boys gathered around me and said that I had spoken right, that they would stand by me if I would stand.

Undetected by the cavalry, Smith and his men would end up carrying the injured Arnold thirty miles in a hammock on a pole, miraculously finding necessary water sources on the high deserts of Wyoming and eventually leaving Arnold with "mountain men" who nursed him back to health while Smith and the rest of his company continued their assignment. All returned to the Valley the following spring.

Lot Smith completed other assignments at the request of Church leaders, including important groundbreaking work in the settlement of Arizona. He was killed in an Indian ambush of Saints at Tuba City, Arizona, at the age of 62, in 1892. He was buried near his cabin.

After Smith's remains were excavated and reburied in Farmington in 1902, many friends and dignitaries attended a memorial service in his honor. James Sharp, a fellow militia member, declared, "I have this to say of my Commander: there lies a man who knew no fear. With his men he was gentle as a woman and as brave as a lion." And President Joseph F. Smith said, "He was a generous, noble-hearted man, and history will record the fact that Lot Smith was one of the notable figures of the past." ◢

Utah's Legacy of US Military Installations

BY THOMAS G. ALEXANDER AND BOB FOLKMAN

Camp Floyd, Utah County

Historic photos from Utah State Historical Society Digital Collection, unless otherwise noted.

Utah's first official US military post was Camp Floyd in western Utah County, established in 1858 during the Utah War. Until shortly before the Civil War began, more US soldiers were assigned to Camp Floyd than to any other military base in the country. The post closed after only three years, but Camp Floyd was the first of sixteen US military installations established in Utah during the next century.

While the first US military base in Utah was established to counter a perceived rebellion by Latter-day Saint settlers, the bases established after World War I reflect the confidence of the federal government in the loyalty and efficiency of Utah's population and evince Utah's strategic location in the West—not too close to the vulnerable Pacific Coast but, through excellent transportation, close enough to access all West Coast ports. The employment generated by bases operating during World War II helped end local effects of the Great Depression; Utah's active military bases provide important economic benefits to this day.

Utah's sixteen military bases are summarized here in the approximate chronological order of their respective openings. Eight of these were established between late 1941 and early 1943, reflecting the commitment the United States made to end World War II.

CAMP FLOYD, UTAH COUNTY (CLOSED 1861)

As part of their truce to prevent bloodshed during the Utah War of 1857-8, Brigham Young and newly installed Governor Alfred Cumming both insisted that the thousands of regular army soldiers arriving in Salt Lake City in June 1858 should not be settled near Latter-day Saint cities and towns. The leaders feared that careless actions by either the Latter-day Saints or the soldiers could escalate into an armed conflict that would be devastating to the citizens of Utah. Brigham Young and other Church leaders were also concerned about the influence that the thousands of single "Gentile" men might have on the youth of the Church.

Too, there was not enough available grazing land near Salt Lake City to feed the army's thousands of head of horses and livestock. In response to the official request of Gov. Cumming, searches were made for a strategic location with sufficient access to grass and other forage. At length, Cedar Valley—west of Utah Lake between the Lake Mountains and the Oquirrh Mountains—was chosen as the site for the army camp. Its proximity to the most populous Latter-day Saint settlements and to the most heavily used north-south and east-west
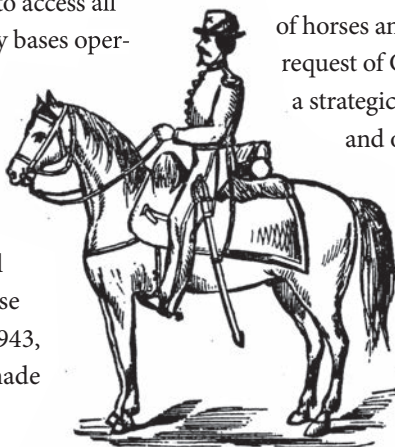
Fort Douglas, 6th Infantry, circa 1880

Fort Douglas, by Lynn Faucett

trails played a part in the choice, although no one considered Cedar Valley an ideal location.

The base was named Camp Floyd in honor of then-Secretary of War John B. Floyd, and it began as a tent city—hundreds of tents surrounded by many more hundreds of wagons. It quickly became an acceptable military post as soldiers, hired laborers from Latter-day Saint communities, and newly unemployed teamsters created rows of adobe buildings—an armory, a stockade, and headquarters buildings first of all, and then barracks and mess halls for the men.

Camp Floyd thrived as headquarters for the region served by the Department of Utah, which included all of Utah and much of what is now Nevada, southern Idaho, and western Wyoming. One of its primary duties was to protect settlers against Indian raids. Gen. Albert Sydney Johnston relinquished command of the Camp in February 1860, and Col. Charles F. Smith succeeded him. The post continued in operation until the beginning of the Civil War; many of the troops were recalled to stations in the Southwest and East, and others joined the secessionist army of the South. Col. St. George Cooke took command after Smith, but soon received orders to shut down the post, destroy surplus arms, and dispose of other property as quickly as possible. The post was symbolically renamed Camp Crittenden to remove the name of Secretary Floyd, given that Floyd was a Southern loyalist. The camp formally closed on July 27, 1861, when Col. Cooke and his last companies of dragoons rode away.

FORT DOUGLAS, SALT LAKE CITY (CLOSED 1991)

Established in October 1862, Fort Douglas was strategically located on the east bench of Salt Lake City near present-day University of Utah; its express purposes were to protect the overland mail route between the East and the Pacific Coast and keep watch on Brigham Young

and members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Originally named Camp Douglas—for prominent US Senator Stephen A. Douglas—the post was under the command of Col. Patrick E. Connor and was staffed by a volunteer unit called the California-Nevada Volunteers. By 1866 the volunteers had been discharged and replaced by regular army infantry soldiers.

Because of its strategic location near overland trails, telegraph lines, and railroads converging in Utah, Camp Douglas became a valuable Army asset. The post was made permanent when its name was changed to Fort Douglas in 1878. A major supply depot and training center from 1900 until well after the end of World War II, Fort Douglas occupied 10,525 acres at its peak. During the World Wars, it periodically housed German, Italian, and Japanese prisoners of war. Prior to the separation of the US Air Force from the US Army after World War II, the command at Fort Douglas included the Salt Lake Airbase and the Wendover Bombing and Gunnery Range.

After World War II activities at the Fort were diminished. It was not large enough to be an effective training center for troops in the modern army, and Salt Lake City had grown to encroach on areas surrounding the post. The US Government transferred many post land holdings to other government entities—the University of Utah, the Veterans Administration, and the US Forest Service. Other parcels of land were sold outright. Fort Douglas officially closed in 1991, but the Utah National Guard and the US Army Reserve maintain parts of the old fort as a National Historic Landmark, and Fort Douglas Cemetery remains an active US military cemetery.

Ruins of the Mormon academy at old Fort Cameron

Army Major Thomas T. Thornburgh; courtesy United States Military Academy

FORT CAMERON, BEAVER (CLOSED 1883)

Opened in 1872 east of Beaver, Fort Cameron's mission was to protect settlers and westward-bound travelers from raids by Native Americans in southern Utah. The US Army stationed four companies of regular troops at the post and constructed substantial rock buildings—headquarters, commissary, a hospital and several barracks. John D. Lee was held prisoner at the Fort before and after his trial in 1877, and a company of soldiers from the Fort was detailed to Mountain Meadows to maintain order during Lee's execution there. Fort Cameron was closed in 1883 when the railroad reached nearby Milford, enabling troops to be dispatched from Fort Douglas if a need arose. Local businessmen purchased the property. In 1898 the Fort's rock buildings became home to the Murdock Academy, operating until 1922 as a branch of Provo's Brigham Young Academy.

FORT THORNBURG, UINTA COUNTY (CLOSED 1884)

Fort Thornburgh had a brief lifespan, opening in 1881 near Ouray, Utah, with four companies of infantry, then moving in 1882 to a location at present-day Maeser, Utah, before closing by1884. The post was named for US Army Major Thomas T. Thornburgh, who was killed in a battle with Ute Indians in Colorado in 1879. Fort Thornburgh's purpose was to keep the peace around the Uintah Indian Reservation in Uinta County, where many Utes were being forcibly relocated from Colorado during the early 1880s.

Fort Thornburgh's three years of existence were relatively uneventful. Congress was not committed to funding the needed cold-weather buildings at the fort, and troops were mostly withdrawn during winter months. By early October 1883 all troops—save a single caretaker—had been removed. By the following spring, the fort had been officially abandoned, and settlers in the area had already begun taking over lands originally reserved for the post.

FORT DUCHESNE, UINTA COUNTY (CLOSED 1912)

Perhaps the decision to close Fort Thornburgh was premature. During the winter of 1885-86 intertribal conflicts broke out at the newly consolidated Uintah and Ouray Reservation in Utah, and some Utes returned to Colorado where they skirmished with ranchers and settlers. In August 1886 two companies of the black 9th Cavalry and four companies of the white 21st Infantry under the command of Maj. F. W. Benteen left Ft. Fred Steele in south-central Wyoming and chose a site on the west side of the Uinta River about seven miles north of its junction with the Duchesne River. There they established Fort Duchesne midway between the two agency trading posts on the reservation, and about thirty miles southwest by wagon road from the abandoned Fort Thornburgh. Because most of the Utes from Colorado and Utah had been gathered to the Uinta and Ouray Reservation, Fort Duchesne effectively replaced Fort Steele, which closed a few months later.

Fort Duchesne included both wood frame and adobe buildings and received

Officers at Fort Cameron
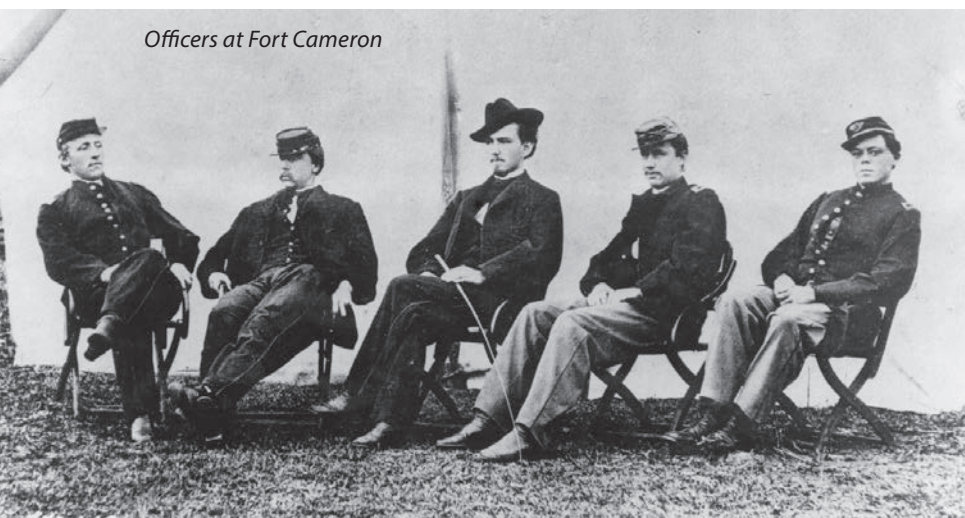
Fort Duchesne Officer's quarters and officers, 1886

water from the Uintah River via a canal dug by soldiers stationed at the fort. The soldiers also planted shade trees and maintained a large lawn and a vegetable garden, and they improved the wagon road to Price, running a telegraph line alongside it. After 1890 the need for Fort Duchesne had diminished, and the number of troops stationed there was gradually reduced, leaving only the black 9th Cavalry units under the command of white officers. During the next decade, conditions on the reservation continued to improve, and the fort was permanently closed on September 13, 1912. Today the tribal headquarters of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation is located at the town of Fort Duchesne, Utah, about three miles north of the old fort.

OGDEN ARSENAL, SUNSET (CLOSED 1955)

Looking back on their country's experiences during what was then called the Great War, many Americans hoped the nation would never again be so ill-prepared to defend itself. Despite the strong isolationist sentiment that persisted during the 1920s and 1930s, the nation began to plan how it might more quickly and efficiently supply its troops. Recognizing the need for supply points distant from the potentially vulnerable Pacific Coast, the War Department carefully selected inland and eastern sites for modern arsenals.

Military leaders decided to store twenty-five percent of the materiel on the eastern seaboard, fifteen percent at a

site in northern Utah with transcontinental rail connections, and the remaining sixty percent at Savanna, Illinois. The Utah site was an area near Sunset, Davis County's northern-most town, nearly equidistant by rail from three important west-coast cities—Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle. Soon designated the Ogden Arsenal, the site originally was to have received materiel shipped directly from factories, holding it for emergency use.

Contractors completed initial construction of the Ogden Arsenal in 1921, but clearly did not build it to survive the strong winds of northern Davis County. By 1935 all but six of the thirty-five original munitions magazines had blown down, and the arsenal had deteriorated to the point that it looked more like a garbage dump than a military base. Too, only twenty military personnel and no civilians were initially assigned to the base. But in 1935 that began to change.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Secretary of War George Dern, Utah's former governor, recognized that the imperialist designs of Germany and Japan were inducing the proactive rearmament of both nations. While the US remained in the depths of the Depression, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) had available manpower to rebuild the arsenal at Sunset.

Ogden Arsenal, Bachelors Officers' Quarters Office Building; Library of Congress
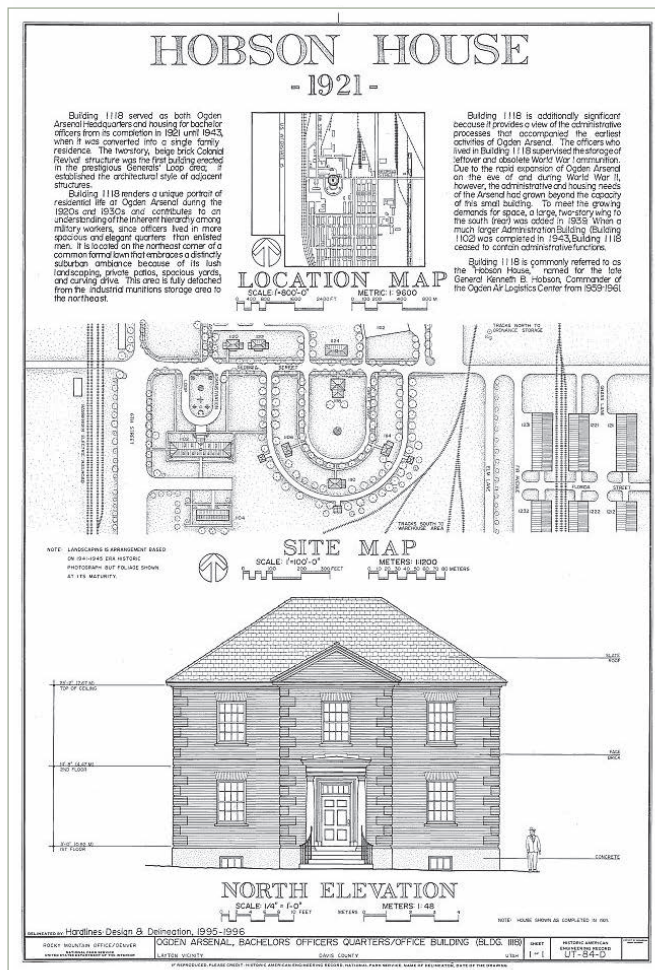
Above: The 1334th Combat Engineer Battalion trains at Camp Williams, 1951 (see "A Look Back: Utahns in the military from the '40s and '50s," The Salt Lake Tribune, November 6, 2011); Right: Utah National Guard Annual Encampment at Camp Williams, circa 1930–1960

When Germany began reoccupying German-speaking regions in Europe in 1935, convictions grew that that the world might again be at war and that the US might again enter the conflict. Consequently, the Ogden Arsenal was expanded to include several new structures. By the time the US officially entered World War II in December 1941, the arsenal was no longer just a storage facility, but a site for making bombs and loading artillery shells. After 1941, the arsenal increased in importance as a storage/shipping site for military vehicles and small arms ammunition.

Between August 1945 and the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, the Ogden Arsenal experienced a reduced level of activity. By 1946 employment had declined to 1,200 military and civilian personnel from a high of 6,000 in 1943. While activity picked up somewhat during the Korean War, by 1955 the Army had assigned the arsenal's mission to the Tooele Ordnance Depot in Tooele County (later the Tooele Army Depot), and had expanded Hill Air Force Base to incorporate the arsenal's buildings. Indeed, the large brick buildings on Hill AFB's western perimeter—today visible from I-15—were once part of the Ogden Arsenal.

CAMP W. G. WILLIAMS, SALT LAKE COUNTY
(ACTIVE)

Occupying a large and rugged tract of land west of the Jordan River at the southern border of Salt Lake County, Camp W. G. Williams, commonly known as Camp Williams, was established in 1928 as the training and encampment site of the Utah National Guard. Still maintained as a training facility, it includes the Non-Commissioned

Officer's Basic Leader Course that trains active-duty, reserve, and National Guard servicemen. Added to the site in 2013, the National Security Agency's *National Cybersecurity Initiative Data Center* is a highly secretive and advanced technology operation with more than 1.5 million square feet in its main building.

HILL AIR FORCE BASE, DAVIS COUNTY
(ACTIVE)

In 1935, with support from Secretary of War George Dern and Utah Senator Elbert D. Thomas, Congress passed the Wilcox-Wilson Act authorizing the Secretary of War to locate a permanent air corps station in the Rocky Mountain area. Subsequently, Lt. Col. Henry H. (Hap) Arnold visited Ogden as a representative of the Military Affairs Committee and designated the larger Ogden area as a potential site for such a base.

In order to prevent land speculation that would have artificially boosted the price of the base, the Ogden Chamber of Commerce optioned land in northern Davis County east of Sunset. After the Department of War officially selected the Ogden site from among other sites in the Intermountain West, construction began in 1938, largely relying on WPA personnel. When the base was completed in 1942, the Army named it for Major Ployer P. Hill who had died in the 1935 crash of a prototype of the B-17 Flying Fortress.[1]

During World War II, employment at Hill increased rapidly. By May 1943 there were 21,780 civilian and military personnel working at the base. Through late 1945 personnel at Hill maintained and repaired such reciprocating engine

Hill Air Force Base; KC-135 (tanker aircraft); B-52 bomber. Right: Major Ployer P. Hill (Wikipedia)

Hill Air Force Base, 1945

aircraft as the B-17 FF bomber, B-24 Liberator, B-26 Marauder, P-39 Aracobra, P-40 War-hawk, P-47 Thunderbolt, A-20 Havoc, and AT-1 trainer.

The rapid expansion of Hill and of area businesses supporting it led to a housing boom in the Davis-Ogden area. Federal agencies built such housing units as Grand View Acres and Washington Terrace in South Ogden, Bonneville Park in northeast Ogden, Verdeland Park in east Layton, Anchorage Acres in Clearfield, and Sahara Village just south of Hill Field. Buses transported employees to Hill Field from their homes in Ogden, Salt Lake City, and Davis County towns and rural areas.

Following the war, Hill Air Force Base—now designated as the Ogden Air Materiel Area (abbreviated as OOAMA because bases were required to have five letters in their acronym)—was primarily responsible for the repair, storage and disposal of aircraft used during WWII. Employees cocooned or "pickled" some aircraft for storage and prepared other planes for sale as war surplus. In 1949, the Air Force designated Hill Air Force Base as a site for maintaining, supplying, and repairing various engines and aerial electronic and photographic equipment. By 1950 the US Department of Defense was considering phasing out operations at HAFB.

Such talk came to an abrupt halt in June 1952 as North Korean forces invaded South Korea and as the United States entered the Korean War as South Korea's ally. By August of that year, employment at the base had increased to 12,210. In June 1952 the Air Force decentralized operations and made Ogden Air Materiel Area its prime manager for various weapons and weapon systems. During the Korean War, the Air Force switched from reciprocating-engine planes to the jet-engine planes that have become its mainstays. OOAMA emerged as a major site for the storage, repair, and maintenance of such aircraft as the F-101 Voodoo, F-84 Thunderjet, and F-102 Delta Dagger.

During the mid- and late 1950s, and as a unit of the Air Force Logistics Command, OOAMA assembled Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missiles and maintained and repaired the RJ-43 Ramjet and LR-59 missiles at Hill Air Force Base. With these and other new responsibilities, OOAMA became Utah's largest employer, boasting more than 15,500 employees by December 1963.

In 1959 Hill AFB was designated the Ogden Air Logistics Center and became a prime agent in the supply and maintenance of such fixed-wing jet aircraft as the F4 Phantom II, F-16C Fighting Falcon, and F-35 Lightning. Base operations expanded during the 1980s and 1990s as the United States became involved in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. It became standard for military aircraft to conduct training missions along a corridor stretching from Hill AFB to Utah's west desert. Such units as the 388th and 419th Fighter Wings are now stationed at Hill and deployed to the Mideast and to Southeast Asia.

In 2012, the Ogden Air Logistics Center was re-designated the Ogden Air Logistics Complex (OALC). Hill's former logistics center was reassigned to the Air Force Sustainment Center (AFSC) at Tinker AFB, Oklahoma. Nevertheless, with more than 20,000 military and civilian personnel, the OALC remains Utah's largest employer of on-site employees.

UTAH GENERAL DEPOT, OGDEN (CLOSED 1997)

Located adjacent to the city limits northwest of Ogden and fronting the railroad right-of-way on its east, the Utah General Depot consisted of more than 1,000 acres of pasture, farming, and slough land. It was established in September 1941 when war was underway in Europe and the likelihood of a worldwide war loomed on the horizon. Throughout its thirty-six-year history, the General Depot served one
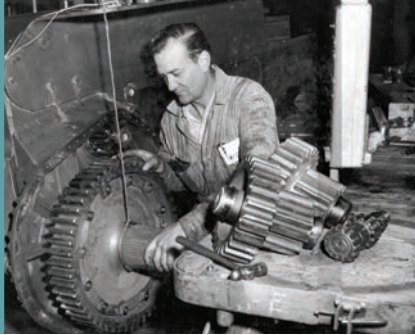
Left: Leon Larson, Engineer Equipment Mechanic, Utah General Depot; above: Defense Depot, Ogden

primary purpose: receiving, storing, and redistributing materials for use by all branches of the military in all parts of the world, in peacetime or war. The base always had a small contingent of regular Army staff and many civilian employees, peaking at about 4,000 in 1945.

The Depot played a vital role in supplying soldiers deployed around the world with the most mundane supplies, ranging from personal care items, clothing, and food to medical supplies, construction tools, and building materials. During World War II as many as 5,000 prisoners of war were incarcerated at the Depot. During the three wars it actively supplied, the Depot shipped more materials by rail, ground, and air transport than all other supply bases in Utah combined.

Known unofficially as "the General Depot" and "Second Street"—referring to the address of the main entrance to the base—the Utah General Depot became Defense Depot Ogden (DDO) in 1964 as part of the reorganization of the US military supply chain. The Base Realignment and Closure Act of 1995 called for shuttering the DDO and many other WWII military facilities nationwide that had outlived their usefulness. Officially closed in 1997, the base is now Business Depot Ogden, a business park utilizing the large WWII warehouses and new state-of-the-art manufacturing buildings. The site also houses a large IRS data center and an active Army Reserve facility.

Training on 50 caliber machine guns at Wendover AFB, circa 1942–1945 (Historic Wendover Airfield Foundation, *online*)

WENDOVER ARMY AIR BASE (UTAH TEST AND TRAINING RANGE) (ACTIVE)

Located near Wendover, a town on the western salt desert that straddles the Utah and Nevada borders, Wendover Army Air Base was established in 1942 and was initially used as a bombing and gunnery training base for B-17 and B-24 heavy bombers. Because of the base's unique isolation and useful physical characteristics, other fighter aircraft began training there by 1944, and by early 1945 new B-29 bombers were utilizing the test range, including the *Enola Gay* that dropped the first atomic bomb.

Command of Wendover Army Air Base evolved over the years, and primary responsibility for the test range was assigned to command units located at Hill AFB. The capabilities of the test range have advanced to meet the needs of today's increasingly technology-driven military. In 1979 the test range was re-designated the Utah Test and Training Range (UTTR), and some land that was originally part of the range is now part of Dugway Proving Ground.

Because of its size—more than 12,000 square miles—and continued isolation west of the Great Salt Lake, the range is heavily used. Its long supersonic corridors enhance its value to US military agencies and contractors and

Enola Gay, online at *autographauctions.co.uk*

Left: Group in church at Kearns Army Depot and above: April, 1943

contribute greatly to the stability of HAFB as an important employer in Utah. The UTTR can be used for large-force training as well as airborne exercises; the UTTR also tests drones, cruise missiles, and other advanced vehicles on site.

KEARNS ARMY AIR BASE, KEARNS
(CLOSED 1947)

In February 1942, the Army chose 5,000 acres of agricultural land on the northwest side of Salt Lake County as a basic-training site for pilots and ground crews. Like other WWII-era bases in Utah, the Kearns Army Air Base was deliberately located far inland from the vulnerable Pacific Coast, yet at a site with easy access to railroad lines and highways and to a major commercial airport.

In a very short time construction workers—including young Japanese American men whose families had been sent to internment camps—completed nearly 1,000 buildings at "Basic Training Center No. 5," the camp's original name. Housing as many as 43,000 troops by 1943, the base became the third-largest community in Utah. The base had four fire stations, five chapels, three theaters, two large gymnasiums, sixteen mess halls, at least five Post Exchange stores, a huge warehouse complex, and two segregated service clubs. By the time the base closed in 1947 its name had changed to Camp Kearns, and more than 90,000 soldiers had trained there.

DUGWAY PROVING GROUND, TOOELE COUNTY
(ACTIVE)

Established in 1942 on land originally acquired for the testing range at Wendover, Dugway Proving Ground covers an area of 1,252 square miles of the Great Salt Lake Desert. Its mission includes testing of chemical agents and delivery or defense systems that have been or might be used in

Dugway Proving Ground testing area encompasses a vast area of the western Utah desert (Wikipedia)

military or terrorist engagements. The government deactivated Dugway for about ten years after 1943, but because of its remote location and its proximity to other military support facilities, it reopened in 1954. In addition to its role as a testing facility, Dugway has proved useful for training specialized military units to serve in desert or high-altitude environments around the world. It also provides advanced telemetry and radar tracking of flight operations at the Utah Test and Training Range.

Understandably, details of base activities are closely guarded, and security is tight.

TOOELE ARMY DEPOT, TOOELE COUNTY
(ACTIVE)

The Tooele Ordnance Depot opened in 1942 to support US military operations during WWII, particularly the storage, fabrication, maintenance, testing, demilitarization, and shipping of munitions. Renamed the Tooele Army Depot (TEAD) in 1962, the facility also became responsible for storing, testing, and shipping topographical and construction equipment and troop support materials; these additional responsibilities ended in 1993. Today, most employees at TEAD are civilians, although active-duty military personn-

Tooele Army Depot (Wikipedia)

Women clearing weeds near the Tooele Army Depot Bomb storage facility during World War II

Bushnell Hospital, 1933

nel serve there and command the base. Tooele Army Depot covers an area of more than 23,000 acres, and includes nearly 2,000 munitions storage bunkers and buildings.

DESERET CHEMICAL DEPOT, TOOELE COUNTY (CLOSED 2013)

Also established in 1942, Deseret Chemical Depot operated until 2013, first as a storage facility for chemical weapons and later as the site where surplus or defunct chemical weapons—including mustard gas—were destroyed using advanced incineration technology. When Deseret Chemical Depot closed after more than seventy years, some of its activities were transferred to Tooele Army Depot. Because of the dangerous and controversial materials stored at the base, Deseret Chemical Depot was often in the news during its tenure, and its closing was welcomed by most residents of Utah.

BUSHNELL GENERAL MILITARY HOSPITAL, BRIGHAM CITY (CLOSED 1946)

This important hospital served all branches of the military from August 1942 to June 1946. It occupied a 235-acre campus on Brigham City's south side with more than sixty buildings housing patient wards, operating rooms and surgery centers, rehabilitation facilities, a dental clinic, officers'

quarters, apartments for medical personnel and enlisted men stationed at the hospital, administrative offices, cafeterias, a post office, a post exchange, a chapel, a gymnasium, a movie theater, and an auditorium.

At the peak of World War II in 1944 the hospital had an official capacity of about 2,500 beds, but its assigned patient load was over 3,500. During its four years of operation, 13,000 patients were treated by a staff of more than three hundred military personnel, dozens of civilian employees, and a network of community volunteers from across Utah. Most soldiers treated at the hospital were from Utah, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, and Nevada. A prisoner-of-war camp was also located at the facility, and German and Italian prisoners assisted in maintaining the hospital grounds. When they needed medical treatment, prisoners were taken to a secure ward with a capacity of forty beds.

Bushnell was noted for its liberal experimentation with penicillin at a time when its use was not yet common. As a result, Bushnell Hospital had a relatively low death rate among wounded and injured veterans of World War II. After the hospital's closure, the Intermountain Indian School occupied the large campus from 1950 until 1986.

Left: woman drivers at Clearfield Naval Supply; above: Construction on barracks at the Naval Supply Depot, 1943 (see "A Look Back: Utahns in the military from the '40s and '50s," The Salt Lake Tribune, November 6, 2011)

CLEARFIELD NAVAL SUPPLY DEPOT, CLEARFIELD (CLOSED 1962)

After the outbreak of WWII, the US War Department authorized the Naval Bureau of Supplies and Accounts to purchase land on which to build storage facilities totaling seven million square feet. The Bureau recommended a site at Clearfield in northern Davis County. Farmers in the area protested the taking of their land, but the Ogden Chamber of Commerce supported the Naval Bureau's decision just as they had supported the site for Hill Field. With WWII fully underway, the national war effort took priority over local concerns, and in May 1942 President Roosevelt authorized Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox to purchase the land and begin constructing Clearfield Naval Supply Depot (NSD Clearfield). A Clearfield elementary school provided temporary headquarters to directors of the project; construction continued until April 1943.

As with the Ogden Arsenal, NSD Clearfield's access to rail transportation was critical. Workers used large overhead cranes to unload and reload railroad cars on the main tracks. Every large warehouse on the site had rails on one side of the building, a road on the opposite side, and many bay doors on each side for efficient movement of materials. NSD Clearfield's location also gave it quick access to air transportation via Hill AFB.

In addition to storing and shipping critical war materials, the depot was also a depository for personal effects of Navy, Coast Guard, and Marine personnel missing in action.

Employment at NSD Clearfield soared during WWII. The original 2,452 military and civilian personnel employed in 1943 increased to 7,624 by 1945. During the Korean War, employment hovered between 2700 and 3300. After the Korean War, employment steadily declined until June 1962 when only 435 military and civilian employees remained at the base. Most functions of NSD Clearfield ended in October 1962.

After the General Services Administration declared Clearfield NSD to be surplus property, civilian companies purchased most of the site. Now known as the Clearfield Freeport Center, the site is home to several large manufacturing, storage, and distribution businesses.

POSTSCRIPT

It is somewhat ironic that while Utah's pioneer founders were originally attracted to Utah because of its isolation, that same isolation has attracted a military presence to Utah unequalled by any other non-coastal state.

The importance of Utah's legacy of national military installations can't be overstated. The military personnel and the missions of each of these have influenced Utah's national identity and helped establish the military security of the United States. Economically, from the Utah War to the present, Utah's military installations have benefitted individuals, businesses, and all levels of Utah government; this was especially true during the Great Depression. Military personnel and their families, government contractors, and civilian employees from every region of the country have enriched Utah's identity and character through their ethnic, religious, cultural, and academic diversity and through new skill sets that have pushed Utah to the forefront of twenty-first century technological advancement. ▽

1 Ployer Peter Hill was a skilled test pilot who, during his career, tested more than sixty new or experimental aircraft for the Army Air Corps. The crash of the prototype aircraft occurred at Wright Field, Ohio; Hill was 41.

Lieutenant Colonel Philip

ST. GEORGE COOKE

Respected Military Leader

BY BOB FOLKMAN

Colorful, disciplined, and destined for prominence, Philip St. George Cooke was an almost perfect representation of a cavalry officer in the American West before the Civil War. He has been referred to as the father of the US Cavalry, and he wrote a widely admired book on cavalry tactics that remained a standard text for the Army for decades.[1] Yet Cooke is most often remembered today for his relatively brief association with the Latter-day Saints as the able commander of the Mormon Battalion in 1846–7. In 1857–8 he encountered the Mormons again as a cavalry officer in the Utah Expedition commanded by Col. Albert Sidney Johnston, and in 1861 he was the final commander of the large Utah military post named Camp Floyd that was shuttered when the Civil War began.

Born and raised in Virginia, Cooke's decision to become a military man did not result from a family military tradition. His father was an able physician, and his mother was from a prominent British family known for government service. Philip St. George Cooke was named for the town of St. George, Bermuda, where his parents met during the US Revolutionary War, and St. George was his preferred given name. His signature throughout his long military career was the distinctive "P. St. George Cooke."

At the age of 14, Cooke was admitted to West Point military academy. Six feet four inches tall and well-spoken, he had a commanding presence. He did well at the academy at his young age,

graduating twenty-third in his class of thirty-eight in 1827. The primary focus of the US military prior to the Civil War was to secure the western frontier against Native American tribes and to establish the borders of the nation as settlers moved west in increasing numbers. Cooke was commissioned as an infantry officer, and he served at frontier posts along the Mississippi River, where he had many encounters with hostile natives. In 1830 he was assigned to a new post at Ft. Leavenworth on the Missouri River. There he met and married Rachel Herzog of Philadelphia. He fought in engagements in the Black Hawk War in 1832 and was promoted to first lieutenant in 1833 when the 1st Dragoons, a cavalry regiment trained to fight from horseback as well as on foot, was formed. In 1835 while stationed at Ft. Gibson in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), Cooke was promoted to captain. He became widely known among his peers as an expert horseman, a capable commander of men, and an experienced Indian fighter.

The war with Mexico was in its early stages in October 1846 when Cooke was ordered by General Stephen Kearny to take command of the Mormon Battalion on short notice.[2] While still officially a captain, his role as commander of the Mormon Battalion required that he be breveted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and he was known as Col. Cooke from that time. His tenure with the Battalion was only seven months, ending in May 1847, but his accomplishments as leader of the militarily untrained Mormon volunteers were remarkable. He kept discipline among his men through a long and harsh march on foot from Santa Fe to San Diego and Los Angeles. His command cut a strategically important

General Stephen Kearny

wagon road out of the desert wilderness from New Mexico to California and helped secure Southern California for the United States.
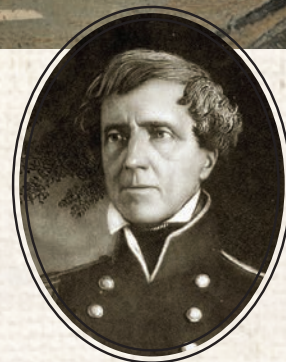
Mormon Battalion members wrote letters and kept journals during their march to California, and in later years they added to the record with recollections and memoirs. Perhaps the most consistent theme of these reports is the Battalion members' description of Lt. Col. Cooke. He was regarded as disciplined and demanding, yet fair, and was almost universally admired by his men. He paid sincere respect to the Mormon Battalion members and their accomplishments in his well-known final orders as the Battalion commander on May 13, 1847. Cooke received his promotion to major at that time and was assigned to the new 2nd Dragoons. He was posted to Mexico City in command of an occupying regiment there and later took part in several Indian campaigns. He and his unit had peacekeeping duties during the difficult events known as "Bleeding Kansas" where "freestaters" battled proponents of slavery in both political and armed confrontations in Kansas territory.

His second encounter with the Latter-day Saints began in 1857 when Cooke, now a lieutenant colonel, led the 2nd Dragoons as the rear guard of the Utah Expedition when it came to Utah to put down the imagined rebellion known as the Utah War. Col. Cooke's cavalry escorted Alfred Cummings—the new governor of the Utah territory—and other federal appointees, following about two weeks behind the infantry and artillery units of the army and their hundreds of supply wagons. The route across Wyoming from the last crossing of the Platte River to South Pass and Fort Bridger is well known to Latter-day Saints for its high altitude and quickly changing weather. Only thirteen months earlier the Martin and Willie Handcart companies had been tragically stranded in sudden winter weather in central Wyoming.

Cooke's dragoons and their civilian charges experienced similar extreme weather conditions beginning on November 6, 1857. Heavy snow, wind, and sub-freezing temperatures slowed their progress, and a lack of feed for their animals led to the loss of more than half of their horses and mules. Adding to the discouragement of the men of the 2nd Dragoons were the remnants of the army units that had preceded them—perhaps a thousand dead oxen, mules, and horses littered the trail, together with numerous abandoned wagons and other equipment. Once again, as had the men of the Mormon Battalion, members of Cooke's command credited his firm and skilled leadership for their arrival at their destination and for their very survival. One experienced traveler with Cooke's unit wrote, "He suffered nothing to deter him from his purpose. The lives of his soldiers and the property of his government were in his hands and he knew not what suffering a day's delay might bring upon him.

The mountains had to be crossed, for return was impossible."[3] Cooke's rear guard arrived at the ruins of Ft. Bridger on November 19, having lost only a single man, and that to a case of lockjaw.

In later memoirs, veterans of the Mormon Battalion reported that when Col. Cooke rode into Salt Lake City at the head of his dragoons he removed his cap as a sign of respect for the men he had previously commanded. While there is no contemporary evidence to support that claim,[4] Cooke had favorable relations with the Mormons during his brief time in Utah and did not take part in the anti-Mormon diatribe that was common among officers and soldiers at the time.

In August 1858 Cooke left Utah, having been promoted to full colonel with the 2nd Dragoons, and took a year-long leave of absence from the Army to visit Europe, where he observed the ongoing war by France and Sardinia against the Italian states. He was engaged during these years in writing *U.S. Cavalry Tactics,* intending that it be used as a textbook for the Army. Cooke returned to Utah in the summer of 1860 and replaced General Albert Johnston as the military commander of the Department of Utah, headquartered at Camp Floyd in Cedar Valley west of Utah Lake. Cooke reportedly maintained a good relationship with Brigham Young during that time.

Cooke was known as a supporter of the Union despite his Virginia origins, and as commander in Utah he oversaw the
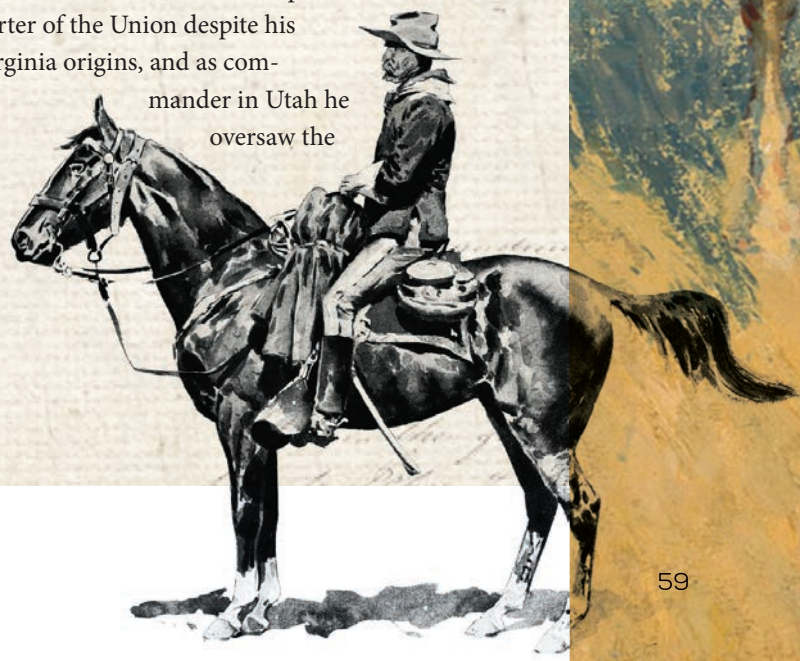
General John R. Cooke

removal of the name of the pro-South Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, from Camp Floyd, which was renamed Camp Crittenden after the pro-Union senator from Kentucky, John B. Crittenden.

The Civil War changed all things military in the United States, even in Utah. As armed conflict between North and South became imminent, most of the troops stationed in Utah returned to the East and chose sides. Camp Crittenden closed in 1861, and the disposal of livestock, supplies, and equipment from the camp provided a windfall for enterprising locals who had the cash to bid for goods. Even Brigham Young came away with the camp's sturdy flagpole, presented by Col. Cooke as a gift. Col. P. St. George Cooke also returned to the East, and on November 21, 1861, he was promoted to Brigadier General and given command of Union Cavalry units defending Washington, DC.

The War caused dramatic changes in Colonel Cooke's family, as well. Cooke's only son, John R. Cooke, took the side of the South and became a respected general in the Confederate Army. The division of family loyalties extended to Cooke's three daughters. Flora had married

J.E.B. Stuart, who became one of the South's most famous generals, and Maria married Charles Brewer, who enlisted as a surgeon in the Confederate Army. But daughter Julia married Jacob Sharpe, who became a colonel in the Union Army and was severely wounded at the Third Battle of Winchester in September 1864. It was not unusual for families to be divided by the Civil War, but few such divisions involved a family as prominent as Cooke's—one that included three officers who held the rank of general during the Civil War.

General P. St. George Cooke saw action in several battles and skirmishes in northern Virginia early in the Civil War. However, two events led him to withdraw from active field command in 1862. The first was an ill-fated charge he ordered at Gaines Mill during the Seven Days Battles, where much of a regiment under his command was lost and the Union army suffered a defeat. The second was the dramatic success of his son-in-law, Confederate General J.E.B. Stuart, during a raid in which he encircled the entire Union Army of the Potomac. After 1862 General Cooke held administrative posts until the end of the Civil War and throughout the remainder of his career.

Cooke had literally written the book on cavalry tactics for the US Army. He had proven his skills as a cavalry commander on many occasions. His courage, his skill on horseback, and his ability to command men and carry out orders with efficiency had earned him the respect of his superiors as well as those who served under him. However, the scale of the Civil War did not reward the frontier cavalry skills Cooke understood so well.

CONFEDERATE GENERAL J.E.B. STUART

The massive numbers of men with modern firearms and the concentrated use of artillery made innovative and courageous cavalry tactics less useful.

Although Philip St. George Cooke was born to be a Virginia gentleman, he became a product of America's western frontier. "I have been a Western man," Cooke declared in a letter to his nephew, written from his command post in Utah in 1861.[5] His letter explained his commitment to the Union and voiced hope that the States would not be divided. He foresaw the effect the war would have on his family when he wrote, "It is perhaps not the least of the miseries of this mad struggle—that it should in any way—or degree, [sever] the ties and affections of blood, and friendship." Regrettably, the Civil War dashed his hopes that he might not experience those miseries.

In the same letter to his nephew, John Esten Cooke, he said, "If I resign, I expect to take myself and family to an honorable poverty and seclusion; and where?—What folly, if owning no slaves, I should choose for neighbors, the owners of slaves!" He found the answer to his question in 1870, when Cooke was posted to Detroit as commander of the Department of the Lakes, having previously commanded the Departments of the Platte and the Cumberland after the war. He and Rachel remained in Detroit after he retired from the Army on October 29, 1873. He completed his last book in 1878, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California,* which chronicled the trek of the Mormon Battalion. Gen. Cooke died on March 20, 1895, in Detroit. Rachel lived another year and is buried beside him there in the North, far from his Virginia roots.

The Mormon Battalion's Lt. Col. P. St. George Cooke was a committed military man, an exceptional leader and organizer, and a man of principle and integrity. He was the right man in his time and place and made contributions to the American nation that may be remembered with pride. ▼

1 Cooke's *U.S. Cavalry Tactics: Instructions, Formations, and Movements,* 2 vols. (1862) was written at the request of the War Department. Exceptionally detailed, the book even contains sheet music for bugle calls.

2 The Mormon Battalion's first commander, Lt. Col. James B. Allen, was taken ill and died at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, shortly after the Battalion had departed for Santa Fe. For more information on the Mormon Battalion, see *Pioneer,* 64.3 (2017).

3 "Diary of Judge William A. Carter—1857," transcription by David L. Bigler from Carter Papers. Wyoming Archives and Historical Department. This passage is reprinted in William P. MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 1, A Documentary History of the Utah War to 1858* (2008), 403.

4 Former Mormon Battalion officer James Ferguson was one of the few LDS eyewitnesses to the actual military parade in Sat Lake City. He wrote a detailed account of the event to Brigham Young, identifying key military officers, including Col. Cooke, as they led their units through Salt Lake City. He makes no mention of Cooke doffing his hat. Ferguson's account is contained in the LDS Archives, and is reprinted in William P. MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 2, A Documentary History of the Utah War, 1858–1859* (2016), 596–8.

5 Richard W. Etulain, "A Virginian in Utah Chooses the Union: Col. Philp St. George Cooke in 1861," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* 42:4 (1974): 381–5. The letter is in the National Archives.

THE MOVE SOUTH

"Rather than see my wives and daughters ravished and polluted, and the seeds of corruption sown in the hearts of my sons by a brutal soldiery, I would leave my home

in ashes, my gardens and orchards a waste, and subsist upon roots and herbs, a wanderer through these mountains for the remainder of my natural life."

— BRIGHAM YOUNG

BY SARAH S. YATES

The Utah War, in which no battles were actually fought, resulted in a mass dislocation of people called "The Move South." President Brigham Young announced in March 1858 that all settlements in northern Utah must be abandoned and prepared for burning if the US Army should arrive to take over. Settlers living north of Utah County abandoned their homes and moved southward, leaving only a few men in each town and settlement.

Major Samuel Smith remained with a rear guard in Brigham City, where he assigned Willis H. Boothe to command the "minutemen" in preventing the Indians from burning the settlement, although they were instructed to do so themselves should hostile soldiers enter the valley.

Simeon and Harriett Dunn

"One can imagine the feeling of the people as they left their homes and farms, but God was pleased to bless their lands and much grain and hay ripened unattended; and their houses, which were broken into by curious Indians who strew things about, were otherwise left intact. Most of the exiles from Brigham City located temporarily near Payson, Utah County, living in their wagons and dugouts, existing on the year's supply of flour brought with them."[1]

Eva Dunn Snow, granddaughter of early pioneer Simeon Adams Dunn, tells of her family's move. Simeon's wife, Harriett, gave birth to twins on December 31, 1857. The tiny girl died shortly after birth, and two days later Harriett died, and both were buried in Brigham City. Ms. Snow adds: "Three months later, in April 1858, the call came for all Saints to leave their homes in northern Utah, and journey southward. Simeon loaded a few provisions and household effects into his covered wagon, assisted his motherless children to their place in the wagon box, and cracking his long whip over the backs of his oxen, commenced his journey. He had also provided a wagon for his eldest daughter (Mary Dunn Ensign) and her three little girls and they traveled together. The husband and father of this little family, Martin Luther Ensign, at that time was serving as a missionary for the Church [in England].

"As they proceeded on their way, baby Henry became very ill. They camped on Kay's Creek [now Kaysville], and there they saw the life depart from their lovely three-month-old baby son and brother. The father made his little family as safe and comfortable as possible in this temporary camp, and with a sad and heavy heart slowly wended his way back to the lonely grave in the Brigham City Cemetery. Very near to it he dug a very small new grave, and in it tenderly laid the remains of his baby boy.

"He found the town empty, except for a few men who had remained behind, ready at a moment's notice to touch a match to the homes and buildings if the enemy should enter the city. He went into his house, expecting to spend the night there, but it was so quiet and lonely it was more than he could endure, so he went to the stable, lay down by his faithful oxen, and spent the night near them. Early the next morning he was on his way to rejoin his family. He found them safe and well, and they continued their journey as far south as Payson, where they made their camp and remained until the Saints were counseled by the Church leader, to return to their homes."[2]

The Utah War ended without conflict. Negotiator Thomas Kane and Cumming came to the Mormon capital for negotiations in early April 1858. Brigham Young

The Move South . . . "was carried out in strict military order, each ward being organized into tens, fifties, and hundreds, with a captain over each. Families were expected to transport their own furniture, in addition to food and clothing. . . .

"Church records and assets were removed or buried by the public works department. One group hid all the stone that had been cut for the Salt Lake Temple, and leveled and covered over its foundation so that the plot would resemble a plowed field and remain unmolested. Another group boxed all of the tithing grain in bins and transported twenty thousand bushels to specially erected granaries in Provo. Additional wagon trains carried machinery and equipment to be housed in hastily constructed warehouses and sheds.

"The Move South occupied almost two months. It was completed by mid-May. A daily average of six hundred wagons passed through Salt Lake City during the first two weeks of the month. An estimated thirty thousand Saints left their homes in Salt Lake and the northern settlements. . . . The exodus of such a large body of people drew national and international attention to the Church."

Excerpts from "The Utah War," *Church History in the Fulness of Times Student Manual* (2003), 368-79.

immediately surrendered the gubernatorial title and soon established a comfortable working relationship with his successor. However, neither of the non-Mormons could encourage Young's hope that the army might be persuaded to go away, nor could they give him convincing assurance that Johnston's troops would come in peacefully. So the Move South continued.[3] It wasn't until July 1, that Orson F. Whitney recorded, "A peaceful settlement having been reached with the U.S. Army, most of the people returned to their deserted homes and resumed their accustomed labors."[4]

Families completed the journey home by late summer or fall. The men left behind to guard the settlement had been faithful to their neighbors in watering crops, and returning residents were glad to see most crops had thrived and ripened through the summer. ▼

Sarah Seibel Yates retired as editor of the Box Elder News Journal of Brigham City, Utah after forty years of covering local news. She researched and wrote many historical articles and a series of interviews with veterans of World War II. A University of Utah graduate, she is a continuing author for the Brigham City History Project.

1 Vaughn Nielson, clerk, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, *The History of Box Elder Stake: written in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of Brigham Young's setting in order a state for Box Elder County,* (Brigham City: Box Elder Stake, 1977), 16–7.

2. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West,* vol. 10, (1949), 259–60.

3 Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850–1859* (1960, 1977); Richard D. Poll, *Quixotic Mediator: Thomas L. Kane and the Utah War* (1985).

4 Nielson, 17.

PIONEER VIGNETTE

"**In the spring of 1858 . . .** we went as far south as Spanish Fork, and on the Spanish Fork bottoms there was good feed for our stock and plenty of fish in the river. At that time all the people living north of Utah Valley moved south leaving their homes with furniture, farming implements, in fact their all, not knowing where they were going nor what their destiny. . . .

"During that exodus I shall never forget the distress and poverty of the people. I have seen men wearing trousers made of carpet, their feet wrapped in burlap or rags. Women sewed cloth together and made moccasins for their feet. Many women and children were barefoot. One good sister, a neighbor who had a family of seven, told my mother that aside from the clothing on their bodies, she could tie up in a common bandanna handkerchief every article of clothing they possessed. She would put the children to bed early Saturday night and repair and wash and iron their clothing preparatory for Sunday. The people were practically all poor for we had had several years of great scarcity of crops because of the grasshoppers."

–Hulda Cordelia Thurston

"Sketch of the life of Jefferson Thurston," July 1921, Daughters of the Utah Pioneers Museum, Salt Lake City, 17-8.

THE WAGON TRAIN BY FRANK E. SCHOONOVER

Their intimate knowledge of the trail and the country, the kind of frontier skill that had been developed by the migration, the Gathering, and the frequent relief and rescue trains, became the Saints' strongest weapon. They were able to operate freely, in any weather, far to the east of the valley. When two infantry regiments camped at Devil's Gate on the eve of the autumnal equinox, there was a camp of the Nauvoo Legion only a mile or so away—and those Nauvoo Legion Mormons had camped there on the Sweetwater many times, a lot of them with the rescue wagons the fall before. They knew where the best feed was, where a man or a body of men could see without being seen, where ambushes might be laid. They laid no ambushes, because Brigham's orders were to watch the army, not to fight it; to take every opportunity to delay it by stalling its supply trains and stampeding its stock, but not to start shooting."

— Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion* (1964), 280–1.